P.LAL & KARAN SINGH General Editors

Classics of the East attempts to present, in readable and dependeable English versions, a library of time-tested Asian literary works in elegantly produced editions. As far as possible, each text will be published unexpurgated, with critical insights by established scholars to enable the serious reader to appreciate its complex richness. The project is inspired by the belief that the best education consists in the spread of noble, liberal ideals which are enshrined in the literary, philosophical and religious expressions of the humanist spirit. The list of classics has been compiled after consultation with Indian and Asian scholars and creative writers. For convenience, the Editors have restricted their choice of classics to cultures of southern and eastern Asia; the literary riches of the Middle Eastern countries constitute a considerable cultural contribution whose extensiveness requires separate research and dissemination. As a rule, the classics have been selected on the basis of criteria that transcend national and political limitations, and a conscious attempt has been made to see the multiplicity of Asian literature as the product of an interplay of mutually and collectively beneficial influences. For historical and other reasons, the major literatures of the East have remained for the most part neglected. By making a library of well-edited Asian works available, Classics of the East hopes to bring the cultural wealth of more than half the globe into the hospitable privacy of every cultured English-knowing home wishing to enlarge its humanist horizons.

A Home Library of Asian Literature

CLASSICS OF THE EAST

Mahanama
The Mahāvaṃsa

TRANSLATED FROM PALI
BY ANANDA W.P. GURUGE

The M P Birla Foundation

Phototypeset by Kapur Graphics Inc., Madras 600 086. Phone: 8252124. Printed at All India Press, Pondicherry. Published by P.N. Shastri for the M.P. Birla Foundation, Calcutta. Design and layout by P. Lal. Cover silk-screened by Shiladitya Roy.

ISBN 81-85299-03-X

Price:Rs.175/-;U.S.£20

CLASSICS OF THE EAST

Planned Companion Volumes in this Series

The Vedas
The Upanishads
Valmiki's *Ramayana*
Vyasa's *Mahabharata*
Kautilya's *Artha-Shastra*
Patanjali's *Yoga Sutra*
The Jain *Agamas*
The Dhammapada
The Panchatantra
Milinda-panha
Bharata's *Natya-Shastra*
The Kuruntohai
Tirukkural
Kalidasa's Complete Works
The Bhakti Singers
Brihat-Katha-Sarit-Sagara
Vetala-pancha-vimsati
Rabindranath Tagore: *Three Plays*
The Hitopadesa
Kalhana's *Raja-Tarangini*
Guru Granth Sahib
Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's *Krishna-Charitra*
Mahatma Gandhi's *Autobiography*
Ananda Coomaraswamy on Art and Aesthetics
Sri Aurobindo's *Synthesis of Yoga*
Lao-tzu
Confucius
Lotus Sutra
Lankavatara Sutra
Tibetan Book of the Dead
Li Po and Tu Fu
Pillow Book
The Tale of Genji
Zen Texts
Monkey
A Haiku Anthology
Dream of the Red Chamber
Rose flower and Pink Lotus

ANANDA WEIHENA PALLIYA GURUGÉ (born in Galle on 28 December 1928) is Sri Lanka's Ambassador and Permanent Delegate to Unesco, Paris, France since 1985.

A first class Honours graduate of the University of Ceylon in Sanskrit and History, Dr. Guruge obtained his Ph. D. in 1953 on a thesis on the social conditions of India as reflected in the Valmiki Ramayana.

Twelve out of fifteen years as an Officer of the Ceylon Civil Service were in the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs, from which he retired in 1967 after having served as acting Permanent Secretary. For some time during this period, he was also the Administrative Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor of the Vidhyodaya University and its Professor of Sanskrit and Linguistics.

After an year as a Visiting Professor of Asian Studies in the State University of New York at Buffalo in USA, Dr Guruge joined Unesco as a specialist in Educational Management and served in Paris, New Delhi and Bangkok. From 1979 to 1985, he directed the Unesco-Unicef and Unesco-WFP Cooperative Programmes from Unesco Headquarters in Paris.

Dr. Guruge is the author of twenty-five books in Sinhala and English and over a hundred research papers and articles. Among his books are *The Society of the Ramayana* (Maharagama, 1960), *The Buddhist Art of India* (in Sinhala, 1962), *Return to Righteousness* (Colombo, 1965), *A Functional Analysis of Educational Administration* (Paris, 1969), *Towards Better Educational Management* (New Delhi, 1971), *Buddhism: the Religion and its Culture* (First Edition, Madras 1975 and Enlarged Second Edition, Colombo 1984), *The Miracle of Instruction* (Colombo, 1982) and *From the Living Fountains of Buddhism* (Colombo 1984).

In recognition of Dr. Guruge's contributions in the field of literary and historical research, he was awarded the Sri Lankan national honour KalāKīrti in 1987 and Doctor of Letters (D. Litt.) of the Sri Jayewardenapura University of Sri Lanka in 1986.

TO
MY WIFE SUJĀTĀ

BHARIYĀ HI PARAMĀ SAKHĪ

(The wife is the foremost friend)

Buddha

Contents

INTRODUCTION

Author,Date And Literary Merits

The Mahāvaṃsa (The Great Chronicle) is the epic poem *par excellence* of Sri Lanka. It was written in Pāli—the *lingua franca* of the Theravāda Buddhist world—by a scholar-monk named Mahānāma in the sixth century A.C. It is basically a historical work relating the story of the Sinhala Kingdom of the island from its foundation in the sixth or fifth century B.C. to the reign of the King Mahāsena (274 - 301 A.C.).

Though somewhat overstated by the early Western scholars who were, no doubt, impressed by both its antiquity and its uniquely systematic historiographical methodology, its main literary value lies in effective use of the lucid and soft-toned Pāli verse to narrate, with a minimum of distracting embellishments, the main trends of a nation's long and varied historical tradition. The author displays his skills of literary composition in the manner in which he organized, with rigour and restraint, his subject-matter culled from a wide variety of sources ranging from contemporary ballads and folktales to voluminous treatises on ecclesiastical history. The importance of the *Mahāvaṃsa* is also founded on factors other than its literary form and presentation.

Indispensable Source For The Ancient History Of Sri Lanka And India

The *Mahāvaṃsa* has proved to be an indispensable source for the reconstruction of the ancient history of not only Sri Lanka but also India. Without the comprehensive account of Emperor Asoka in this Chronicle, the identification of *Devanampiya Piyadasi* of the edicts and the pillar inscriptions could have been delayed by at least a century. Even more importantly, the identification of the great missionaries whose relics were found enshrined in the stūpas of Sānchi and Soṇāri (i.e. Moggaliputta Tissa, Majjhima, Kassapagotta, Dundubissara) could never have been made without the information which the *Mahāvaṃsa* had recorded of the missions sent out to foreign lands to propagate Buddhism in the reign of Emperor Asoka. The most authentic data on the Mauryan

Empire—next to the lithic records of Asoka himself—are to be found in this poem and the literature which developed around it.

As regards the history of Sri Lanka, its authenticity is amply borne out by archaeological, epigraphical and numismatic evidence which corroborates, supplements and clarifies the wealth of information recorded in it. It is significant that the early Aryan settlers of Sri Lanka, who had come in several waves of migration from both the north-west and the north-east regions of the Indian sub-continent, had developed an exceedingly keen historical sense and began to keep records of their exploits and experiences not merely as ballads or sagas of literary or folk interest but more systematically as historical accounts aimed at asserting their cultural identity as a new nation in a new land.

The dynastic history of at least two centuries was already thus recorded before the advent of the Buddhist monk as historiographer and custodian of historical tradition in Sri Lanka. Of course, since the Buddhist monk took over this task, Sri Lanka gained its unique distinction of being perhaps the only modern nation to have maintained, in a periodically updated chronicle, an unbroken historical record extending to over twenty five centuries.

A Continuing National Historical Tradition

This chronicle is the *Mahāvaṃsa*, whose latest prolongation in identical literary form and style in Pāli verse, was just published in Colombo bringing the narrative to 1956. Several previous prolongations are either mentioned with specific information on author and date or deducible from internal evidence: Viz. (I)chapter 37 verse 50 to chapter 79 verse 84 by the Thera Dhammakitti in the thirteenth century; (II) chapter 79 verse 85 to chapter 90 verse 104 anonymous, sometime in the fourteenth century; (III) chapter 90 verse 105 to chapter 100 verse 301 by the Thera Tibbaṭuvāve Siddhattha Buddharakkhita in the eighteenth century and (IV) chapter 101 anonymous in the nineteenth century. Two further prolongations had been attempted by the Thera Yagirala Paññānanda, who brought the narrative to 1935, and the Thera Polwatte Buddhadatta, who complimented the Chronicle with the history of the island under Portuguese and Dutch rule.

This continuing tradition of bringing the Chronicle up to date is

by itself an irrefutable proof of the deep impression which the author of the original chronicle made on subsequent scholars of the country. He had provided a model of historiography which seemed to satisfy the national needs.

Links With South-East Asia

Another salient factor has to be considered in assessing the importance of the *Mahāvaṃsa*: In spite of its confinement in subject-matter to the history of Sri Lanka, it had found a very wide audience in South-east Asia. The manuscripts which were collated by Wilhelm Geiger in the preparation of the current standard edition of the Pāli text, came from Burma, Cambodia and Sri Lanka in their respective characters. Interestingly,the Burmese manuscripts were even found to be more accurate and better preserved than those in Sri Lanka. The Cambodian texts revealed a further phenomenon: The text had been enlarged to almost double the number of verses so as to add information elsewhere recorded only in a tenth-century commentary and to make the narrative clearer and more comprehensible. This *Extended Mahāvaṃsa* appears to have been a literary feat of a scholar-monk of Thailand or Cambodia.

The Culmination Of A Literary And Historiographical Experiment

The *Mahāvaṃsa*, as presented in this translation, is the culmination of a literary and historiographical experiment which seemed to have extended over at least eight centuries in Sri Lanka. It commenced with the massive literary movement launched by the Buddhist Missionaries of Emperor Asoka, who were led by none other than his own son and daughter, the Thera Mahinda and the Therī Sanghamittā. While they brought the Tipiṭaka (the Buddhist Canon) in Pāli (possibly a literary form of the vernacular of Magadha), the commentaries elucidating it were produced in Sri Lanka in Sinhala, which in its Prakritic form in the third century B.C., was not too dissimilar to the contemporary North Indian dialects.

The Sinhala commentaries grew in volume and substance and from the earliest times, includes information on the history of the

island—specially on the antecedents of the dynasty which embraced Buddhism. The historical sections of these commentaries came to be known as the *Sīhala-Aṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṃsa*(The Great Chronicle of the Sinhala Commentary). There is evidence that several recensions or versions were extant in original form even as late as the tenth century when the commentary of the *Mahāvaṃsa,* known as the *Vamsatthappakāsinī* or the *Mahāvaṃsa-Ṭīkā* was produced.

PĀLI AS A VEHICLE OF LITERARY EXPRESSION IN SRI LANKA

Somewhere between third century B.C. and fourth century A.C.—most likely after the reduction of Pāli Tipiṭaka into writing in first century B.C.—a tendency had developed to translate parts of the historical narrative into Pāli verse. A ready model was available from the narrative works of the Canon such as the *Jātaka,* the *Buddhavaṃsa* and the *Cariyāpiṭaka. Sīhala-Aṭṭha-kathā-Mahāvaṃsa,* with the Sinhala text interspersed with Pāli verses, was an intermediary step in the evolution of the epic poem in Sri Lanka.

The first tentative and imperfect effort to present the historical information of the commentaries in a chronicle entirely in Pāli verse is to be found in the fourth-century *Dīpavaṃsa* of unknown authorship. Its imperfections range from grammer, style and linguistic inelegance—exemplifying the lack of experience in the use of Pāli as a vehicle of literary expression—to technical difficulties in coping with different sources and organizing the material in a balanced and readable form. The author, however, was not totally unaware of the tenets of ornate poetry which had made their appearance in contemporary Indian literature. The *Dīpavaṃsa* has several passages which speak of the author's pre-occupation with artistic expression.

A major literary revolution marked the period between the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa*: namely, the far-reaching initiative taken with the direct involvement of several scholar-monks from India (mainly, Buddhaghosa from the region around Buddha Gaya in Bihar and Dhammapāla and Buddhadatta respectively of Kāñcipura and Uragapura—Uraiyur—of Tamil Nadu)to translate the Sinhala commentaries on the Buddhist Canon into Pāli. The motivation came from two factors: (i) the Sinhala commentaries were found to be the most comprehensive and authentic or, in the words attributed to Buddhaghosa himself, "conveying the true meaning of the doctrines of the Buddha"; and (ii) eight hundred years of independent evolution of the once similar Prakrits of North India and Sri Lanka had made the Sinhala commentaries unintelligible to the Buddhists of India. The most practical solution to the problem was to translate the commentaries into the same language in which the Canon existed.

STRUCTURE AND EMPHASIS:THE EVOLUTION OF THE CHRONICLE

The unprecedented literary activity which this decision ushered in made Pāli an effective as well as desirable medium of literary expression in Sri Lanka. Thence for well over seven hundred years, Pāli was the preferred language of many a great scholar who saw no doubt the advantage of an extended readership in at least South-East Asia.

Writing about a hundred years after Buddhaghosa, the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa,* Mahānāma, used Pāli elegantly free of solecisms and employed correctly and with ease both the popular *gāthā* metre (4 lines of eight syllables each, similar to the Sanskrit Sloka or Anuṣṭubh) and several more complicated metres in the concluding verses of the chapters. Although it was not called a Mahākāvya, the basic tenets, elaborated in later treatises on rhetorics, have already been observed.

Nevertheless, it has to be noted that the *Mahāvaṃsa* aims at a most practical objective of narrating the history of the country concisely for the expressed purpose of generating "the serene joy and emotion of the pious". This has been done most of the time in a direct business-like manner. One looks in vain in the *Mahāvaṃsa* for the linguistic gymnastics which characterized the ornate Mahākāvya literature in contemporary Sanskrit literature. In this respect, one can draw a parallel between the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the two great epics of India, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa.* The narrator's urge to tell the story without dilly-dallying is all too evident. *To emphasize this character of the chronicle, I have retained as much as possible the stylistic imperfections of the original:e.g. repetetive use of common adjectives; filler words and pleonastic suffixes in proper names.*

But with the narrative style and perhaps also the metre, the similarity with the Indian epics stops. The *Mahāvaṃsa* is organized as three epics in one volume:

Chapters six to ten: the *Vijaya-Paṇḍukābhaya Epic* on the founding and the consolidation of the Sinhala Kingdom in Sri Lanka.

*Chapters eleven to twenty:*the *Devānampiya-Tissa—Mahinda Epic* on the introduction of Buddhism to Sri Lanka and its consolidation as the state religion of the country.

Chapters twenty-two to thirty-two: the *Duṭṭhagāmaṇi-Abhaya Epic* on the national hero of the second century B.C. who reunified the kingdom by liberating the regions under foreign domination and left a lasting heritage of magnificent monuments to the glory of Buddhism.

Instead of singling out these themes for isolated treatment, the historian in Mahānāma favoured a chronologically continuous narrative using concise connecting chapters to present the reigns in between. Thus did the *Mahāvaṃsa* become a chronicle. The style of the connecting chapters (e.g. chapters 21, 33-37) provided the prototype for the numerous prolongations of the Chronicle, to which reference was made earlier.

Content And Sources

The *Mahāvaṃsa* begins with an account of three visits by the Buddha to Sri Lanka. Reiterating a national tradition, which is however not corroborated by either the Buddhist Canon or its major ancillary works, the Chronicles account for the sanctity of the more important sacred Buddhist shrines as located on spots visited by the Buddha.

The second chapter traces the genealogy of the Buddha from Mahāsammata (the "Great Elect") to whom is attributed the beginning of kingship. This chapter records a number of chronological synchronisms which are important in the reconstruction of the ancient history of India.

The next three chapters deal with the three Buddhist Councils held under the patronage of Ajātasattu (circa 5th century B.C.), Kālāsoka (circa 4th century B.C) and Asoka (circa 3rd century B.C.). In spite of the faith-inspired accretions, which are inevitable in a monastic tradition, these accounts, after stringent and even overly critical scrutinies by several generations of modern scholars, have proved to be by far the most complete and reliable information on the early history of Buddhism.

The subject-matter for the *Mahāvaṃsa* is traceable to three distinct sources:

(i) early accounts of different waves of Aryan migrations with overtones of mythical elements—in no way different from contemporary legends of Greece and Rome;

(ii)a detailed and quite possibly even documented monastic tradition on the crucial events in the history of Buddhism, high-lighting the miraculous and supernormal and demonstrating the *penchant* for seeking explanations for current happenings from experiences of previous births—again, no different from other religious traditions which seek to evoke faith, belief and devotion in the pious; and

(iii)royal records of secular and religious achievements in the form of registers of meritorious deeds accomplished for the benefit of the Buddhist Faith, on the one hand, and the general public, on the other. Within this last category would fall panegyrics and heroic ballads which court poets and wandering minstrels had produced for humouring royalty and edifying the population.

Sri Lanka, in keeping with the ancient Indian tradition, recognized heroes of three distinct categories: *Dharmavıra* (heroes of righteousness), *Dānavıra* (heroes of liberality) and *Yuddhavıra* (military heroes). The history of the island is replete with all the three varieties of heroes and hence tales on them have been an integral part of the public literary heritage. The *Mahāvaṃsa* has drawn heavily on them and a discerning reader of the Pāli original can easily identify the material drawn from such tales.

Of special interest is the substantial account of the military and religious achievements of *Duṭṭhagāmani-Abhaya Epic.* It is evident that the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* has had access to an epic poem in Sinhala on this national hero. Here one can see so many "Sinhalisms" which have crept into otherwise chaste Pāli. Equally evident is the avidity and competence with which the military exploits of the king are described—a task somewhat difficult for a Buddhist monk without the assistance of the court poet.

It is from this account that A.L. Basham was able to select a passage for translation into English verse to illustrate the poetic heights to which the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* rose at times. He called it "an example of Pāli descriptive poetry" and "a stirring

passage". Reproduced below is this passage in Pāli with Basham's excellentrendering:

Nagaraṃ taṃ tiparikhaṃ
uccapākāragopitaṁ
ayokammakatadvāraṃ
arhi duppadhaṃsiyaṃ.

Jānūhi ṭhatvā dāṭhāhi
bhinditvāna silā sudhā
iṭṭhakā ceva hatthī so
ayodvāraṃ upāgami.

Gopuraṭṭhā tu Damiḷā
khipiṃsu vividhāyudhe
pakkaṃ ayoguḷaṃ ceva
kaṭhitaṃ ca silesikaṃ

Piṭṭhiṃ khitte silesamhi
dhūmāyante va Kaṇḍulo
vedanaṭṭo dakaṭṭhānaṃ
gantvāna tattha ogahi.

»Na idaṃ surāpānaṃ te,
ayodvāravighāṭanaṃ
gáccha, dvāraṃ vighāṭehi«
iccāha Goṭhaimbaro.

So mānaṃ janayitvāna
koñcaṃ katvā gajuttamo
udakā uṭṭhahitvāna
thale aṭṭhāsi dappavā.

Hatthivejjo 'tha dhovitvā
silesaṃ osadhaṃ akā,
rājā āruyha hatthiṃ taṃ
kumbhe phusiya pāṇinā:

»Laṅkādīpamhi sakale
rajjaṃ te tāta Kaṇḍula

dammī«ti tosayitvāna
bhojetvā varabhojanaṃ

veṭhhayitvā sāṭakena
kārayitvā suvammitaṃ
sattaguṇaṃ māhisaṃ cammaṃ
bandhetvā cammapiṭṭhiyam

tassopari telacammaṃ
dāpetvā taṃ visajjayi
Asanī viya gajjanto
so gantvā 'paddave sahaṃ

padaraṃ vijjhi dāṭhāhi,
ummāraṃ padasāhani,
sadvārabāhaṃ taṃ dvāraṃ,
bhūmiyaṃ saravaṃ pati.

The city had three moats,
and was guarded by a high wall.
Its gate was covered with iron
hard for foes to shatter.

The elephant knelt on his knees
and, battering with his tusks
stone and mortar and brick,
he attacked the iron gate.

The Tamils from the watch-tower
threw missiles of every kind,
balls of red-hot iron
and [vessels of] molten pitch.

Down fell the smoking pitch
upon Kaṇḍula's back.
In anguish of pain he fled
and plunged in a pool of water.

'This is no drinking bout!'
cried Goṭhaîmbara.

'Go, batter the iron gate!
  Batter down the gate!!'

In his pride the best of tuskers
  took heart and trumpeted loud.
He reared up out of the water
  and stood on the bank defiant.

The elephant-doctor washed away
  the pitch, and put on balm.
The king mounted the elephant
  and rubbed his brow with his hand.

'Dear Kaṇḍula, I'll make you
  the lord of all Ceylon!'
he said, and the beast was cheered,
  and was fed with the best of fodder.

He was covered with a cloth,
  and he was armoured well
with armour for his back
  of seven-fold buffalo hide.

On the armour was placed
  a skin soaked in oil.
Then, trumpeting like thunder,
  he came on, fearless of danger.

He pierced the door with his tusks.
  With his feet he trampled the
  threshold:
And the gate and the lintel
  crashed loudly to the earth.

The Didactic And Ecclesiastical Import

Despite its literary merits and historical authenticity, the overarching character of the *Mahāvaṃsa* is religious and ecclesiastical.It is above everything else a history of Buddhism in India upto the missions of Asoka and in Sri Lanka henceforth. Aiming at the

edification of the pious, it takes for granted a deep knowledge of doctrines and practices, which apparently the Sri Lankan Buddhist has imbibed through constant association with the monastery. The narration of the good and the evil attributable to kings and other personages in history, seems to be directed to one purpose: that is, to draw a moral. Most chapters end with either an admonition or a reminder of a basic doctrine of Buddhism. The didactic import of the *Mahāvaṃsa* is indeed quite great. The doctrines emphasised are those relating to impermanence, wholesome and unwholesome action; detachment and proper use of wealth and power.

True to his didactic role, Mahānāma, the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* displays a noteworthy degree of impartiality and objectivity in assessing the careers and contributions of various rulers. Sena, Guttaka and Eḷāra—all three invaders from South India—are credited with just reigns. The impartiality of Eḷāra in the dispensation of justice has received elaborate treatment with several anecdotes. The only occasions when harsh criticism is resorted to are when some one had jeopardised the interest of the Mahāvihāra —the ecclesiastical tradition to which Mahānāma belonged.

A Plethora Of "Human Interest" Episodes

Notwithstanding the seriousness of purpose that is shown in recording the eventful history of a colourful people, the *Mahāvaṃsa* abounds in *human interest* episodes relating to a wide spectrum of human types: a brave mother who accompanies her son to the battlefield and does not hesitate to act as decoy to lure an enemy to his end; a nymphomaniac queen whose infamous career leads seven kings to death and a crown prince to monkhood; a pious king who slaves to earn his own money to offer alms to monks and proceeds to ultimate limits of liberality by offering himself, his wife and his children to the community of monks, in spite of their entreaties to the contrary; the tragic end of the ruler who declared the whole island a sanctuary for man and beast; a king with a flare for building construction who risks his life by lying down by a precipice to hold fast the mortar of a stūpa until it sets; a door-keeper that turns tables against his king and master who loves a good laugh and plays a practical joke on the ministers; a crown prince who sacrifices the throne for the love of a pretty

outcaste; the single-pointed resolve of a king whose imagination knows no bounds when it comes to designing grand ceremonies in homage to the Great Thūpa; an incredibly ambitious uncle who voluntarily goes through mutilation so as to enable his nephew to usurp the throne; three unknown princes who come to the capital as strangers but end up by becoming rulers successively; a ruthless ruler who marks his father's funeral with a bloody massacre; a rebel minister who, even in fierce battle, cannot but share with the king a delicacy they both loved and thus uses the evening meal to negotiate peace; etc., etc.

A Part Of The Literary Heritage Of Humanity

It is on account of all these characteristics that the *Mahāvaṃsa* qualifies to be a part of the literary heritage of humanity. It narrates the history of the people of a small island. But in doing it with vigour and ardour, it reflects the noble and the mean, the wisdom and the foibles, the sublime and the ridiculous which characterize human activity whatever be the socio-cultural or temporal milieu.

The fact that the *Mahāvaṃsa* deals with real people, and not fictional or impersonalized types, adds a significant dimension to the insights it provides on the universality of the humankind's strengths and weaknesses. The Chronicle is an enduring record of men and women who, guided by diverse emotions, ideals, needs and aspirations, said and did things which a nation has considered worthy of perpetuation, whether as examples fo emulation or otherwise. This human pageant which unfolds itself in the pages of the *Mahāvaṃsa* is, to my mind, its most convincing claim to be enshrined among the greatest classics of Asian—if not world—literature.

Acknowledgement

The publication of this translation of the *Mahāvaṃsa* in this series is the result of a discussion which Dr.Karan Singh had with His Excellency J.R. Jayewardene, the President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, who was the guest of honour in New Delhi at the Republic Day celebrations of India in January 1988. It was President Jayawardene's idea that the most representative

work from Sri Lanka to be included in the fifty-volume series of Classics of the East which the M.P. Birla Foundation was planning to publish should be the *Mahāvaṃsa.* I am indebted to President Jayawardene for also suggesting to Dr. Karan Singh that I would undertake this work. Dr. Karan Singh, on his part, not only contacted me promptly byt also gave me every encouragement and assistance to participate in this magnificent venture by producing this volume. I am equally thankful to the M.P. Birla Foundation and its staff for their prompt attention.

Post Script

To a serious student of Sri Lankan history, the *Mahāvaṃsa* is a veritable mine of information. To verify the accuracy of every statement by comparative studies into the vast historical literature of the country in Pāli and Sinhala as well as the thousands of hitherto deciphered and published epigraphical records is a task which has been long overdue. This I have done in a comprehensive work which was published in Sri Lanka to mark the 150th anniversary of the first publication of the *Mahāvaṃsa* by George Turnour in 1837 and the 75th anniversary of Wilhelm Geiger's translation in 1912. With detailed annotations which critically re-examine the notes of Geiger and a long introduction running to ten chapters, this work, published by the Associated Newspapers Limited of Ceylon, Lake house, Colombo 1, Sri Lanka, would serve the readers who wish to learn more of the Sri Lanka's historical tradition and the literary and historical value of the *Mahāvaṃsa,* the Great Chronicle.

Ananda W.P. Guruge

Apt.310,
76 rue Lecourbe
75015 Paris,
France.
4th September 1988.

THE MAHĀVAṂSA

Homage to him, the blessed, the exalted and the fully enlightened.

CHAPTER I

THE VISIT OF THE TATHĀGATA[1]

Having worshipped the Buddha, the purest, sprung of a pure race, I will recite the Great Chronicle, of varied content and lacking in no topic. What was compiled by the ancients was here too long drawn out and there too condensed and contained many repetition.

Reacting with joy and anguish appropriately as each incident demands, listen now, to this Great Chronicle which is free from such faults; easy to grasp and remember; arousing serene joy and emotion, and handed down by tradition.

* * *

Our conqueror saw the Buddha Dīpankara in the past and resolved to become enlightened so as to release the world from suffering. Thence he won the favour of the twenty-four Buddhas, namely that Buddha (i.e. Dīpankara), likewise Koṇḍañña, the sage Mangala, Sumana, Buddha Revata, the great sage Sobhita, Buddha Anomadassi, Paduma, the conqueror Nārada, Buddha Padumuttara, the Tathāgata Sumedha, Sujāta, Piyadassi, the chief Atthadassi, Dhammadassi, Siddhatta, Tissa likewise the conqueror Phussa, Vipassi, Buddha Sikhi, illustrious Buddha Vessabhū, Kakusandha,—also Koṇāgamana and blessed Kassapa. It was prophesied by them as regards his enlightenment: "The noble Buddha, Gotama, having fulfilled all the Perfections[2] will attain supreme enlightenment and release beings from suffering."

In the land of the Magadhas[3] at the foot of the Bodhi tree at Uruvela, on the full-moon day of Vaisākha, (April-May) the *great*

---

1. Tathāgata = the Buddha. The poet uses many appelations for the Buddha:e.g.*conqueror, sage, master, blessed one* etc. In the translation, all of them are italicized to facilitate identification.

2. Perfections = Pāramitā:i.e.liberality, virtue, renunciation, wisdom energy, patience or forbearance, truthfulness, resolution, loving-kindness and equanimity.

3. Important and identified place names are listed in Appendix 1. Pāli words and Buddhist concepts are briefly explained in Appendix II.

sage attained supreme enlightenment. Seven weeks did he, who had mastered his senses, tarry there, himself experiencing the utmost bliss of deliverance and also displaying its delectability.

Thence he went to Bārāṇasi to set the wheel of the Dhamma rolling.[4] Dwelling there through the rainy season, he produced sixty Arahants. He sent forth these *bhikkhus* to preach the Dhamma and converted the thirty members of an amiable company. Then did the *master* dwell at Uruvelā, during the winter, to convert the thousand Jaṭilas—Kassapa and others—biding his time for them to be ready.

* * *

Now, since a great sacrifice by Kassapa of Uruvelā was near at hand, he, the *oppressor of enemies,* seeing that his presence was not desired, went to beg for alms among the Northern Kurus and partook of it near the lake Anotatta. In the evening on the full-moon day of Phussa (December-January) in the ninth month of his Buddhahood, the *conqueror,* by himself, set forth for the island of Lankā to purify it; for Lankā was known to the *conqueror* as a place where his doctrine would shine in glory:he thought "The yakkhas must be driven away from Lankā, which was filled with them."

It was also known that, in the middle of Lankā on the delightful bank of river, Gangā, in the beautiful Mahānāga garden—three *yojanas* long and a *yojana* wide—which was the battle-field of the yakkhas, there was a great gathering of all the yakkhas, resident in the island of Lankā. *The blessed one* went to this great gathering of yakkhas. There, in the midst of that assembly, hovering in the air over their heads, at the site of the Mahiyangaṇā-thūpa, he struck terror in the form of rain, storm, darkness and so forth.

4. The commencement of the Buddha's mission as a teacher is symbolized as setting in motion the wheel of the Dhamma. The first sermon is named Dhammacakkappavattana- Sutta. (Discourse of setting the wheel of Dhamma in motion).

The yakkhas, overwhelmed by fear, besought the unfearful *conqueror* for safety. The *conqueror,* the giver of *security,* spoke thus to the terrified yakkhas,:"I will banish your fear and distress, O yakkhas, give me here, in one accord, a place to sit." Those yakkhas told the *blessed one:*"We all, O Lord, give your even the whole island. May you release us from fear."

Then having dispelled their terror, cold and darkness, he spread his rug of skin on the ground given to him. The *conqueror,* sitting there, made the rug, with a burning flame around the edge, to expand. Overcome by its burning heat and terrified, they stood at the periphery. Then did the *saviour* cause the pleasant Giridīpa to come here near to them. When they had settled on it, he made it return to its former place.

Then did the *saviour* fold his rug of skin. The *devas* assembled and, in that assembly, the *master* preached to them the Dhamma. The conversion of many crores of living beings took place. Countless were those who were established in the refuges and precepts.[5]

The lord of the devas Mahāsumana of the Sumanakūṭa-Mountain who attained the Fruit of a Stream-winner, asked him, who was worthy of adoration, something to worship. The *conqueror,*who had pure and blue-black locks, being intent on the good of living beings, stroked his hair and gave Mahāsumana a handful of hairs. Receiving them in a splendid golden casket, he placed the hairs on a heap of different gems—seven cubits round piled up where the master had sat. Covering them over with a *thūpa* of blue sapphire, he worshipped them.

* * *

5. One accepts Buddhism by taking *refuge* in the Buddha, his doctrine and the community of the monks and nuns (Tisaraṇa = three refuges) and by observing the five *percepts* (Pañcasīla) to avoid killing, stealing, engaging in improper sensual pleasures, lying and taking intoxicants.

When the *Buddha* had passed away, the *thera* named Sarabhū, a disciple of the Thera Sāriputta, removed from the funeral pyre, by his miraculous power, the neckbone of the *conqueror* and brought it here. Surrounded by *bhikkhus,* he of great supernatural power placed it in the same *thūpa,* covered it with golden-coloured stones, raised the *thūpa* to twelve cubits, and departed.

King Devānampiyatissa's brother Uddhacūlābhaya by name, saw the wondrous *cetiya* and, covering it, constructed a *cetiya* thirty cubits high.

King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, dwelling there while vanquishing the Damiḷas, built a mantle *cetiya* over it eight cubits high.

Thus was the Mahiyangaṇa-Thūpa established.

* * *

The wise *lord* valiant as a great hero, having made this island fit for human beings in this manner, departed for Uruvelā.

Here ends the Visit to Mahiyangaṇa

The *conqueror,* the most compassionate *teacher,* devoted to the good of the whole world, in the fifth year from Buddhahood while residing at Jetavana, saw that a war, caused by a gem-set throne was imminent between the nāgas Mahodara and Culodara, uncle and nephew and their retinues. Early in the morning on the Uposatha-day of the dark half of the month Citta (March-April), the *Buddha* took his sacred almsbowl and robes and, out of compassion for the nāgas, arrived inNāgadīpa.

That nāga Mahodara was a king with great miraculous power ruling over a nāga kingdom of five hundred *yojanas* by the ocean. His younger sister, Kaṇṇā was married to the nāga king of Vaḍḍhamāna mountain. Her son was Culodara.

His maternal grandfather, the nāga gave his mother a splendid gem-set throne and passed away. Over it had this war of nephew with uncle become imminent. The nāgas of the mountain were also possessed of great miraculous power.

The deva named Samiddhi-sumana got hold of the Rājāyatana-tree—his own fair abode which stood in Jetavana. With the permission of the *Buddha,* himself, he held it over the *Conqueror's* head as a parasol and accompanied him to where the *deva* had formerly dwelt.

That deva had been, in his immediate past birth a man in Nāgadīpa. On the spot where the Rājāyatana-tree stood, he saw Paccekabuddhas taking their meal. With a mind full of faith he offered branches to clean the alms-bowls. By that merit he was reborn in the pleasant Jetavana-garden in that tree which stood afterwards outside at the side of the gateway.

The *god of gods,* seeing an advantage for the *deva* as well as a benefit tothis land brought him here along with the tree.

The *chief,* the *dispeller of darkness,* seated there in mid-air above the battlefield, called forth dread darkness over the nāgas. Then comforting them who were terrified, he revealed light. Pleased on seeing the *blessed one,* they worshipped the feet of the *master.* The *conqueror* preached to them the doctrine which begets concord. Overjoyed, both of them gifted the throne to the *sage.*

Descending to earth there, the *master* sat on the throne. Refreshed with celestial food and drink by the nāga kings, the *chief* established in refuges and precepts eighty crores of nāgas of the sea and the land.

* * *

The nāga Mahodara's uncle, the nāga king of Kalyāṇi, Maṇiakkhika, had come there to take part in the battle. Having heard the sermon during the Buddha's first visit, he was established in refuges and precepts. He requested the *Tathāgata: "Lord,* great is the compassion that you have shown us here. Without your coming here, we would have all been reduced to ashes. May your compassion be specially

on me, you of great compassion. May you, who is free from egoism, come here again to the place of my residence."

The *blessed one* consented by his silence to come here again and caused the shrine of Rājāyatana to be established there itself. The *Lord of the world* gave the Rājāyatana-tree and the precious throne to the nāga-kings. to pay homage: "O nāga-kings, *may you worship this shrine rendered sacred by my use. Dear ones, it shall be for your benefit and happiness." Having admonished them thus, the blessed one,* compassionate to the whole world, returned to Jetavana.

Here ends the Visit to Nāgadıpa

In the third year from this, the nāga-king, Maṇiakkhika, came to the *Buddha* and invited him together with the Sangha.

The next day—the full-moon day of the beautiful month of Vaisākha, (April-May)—in the eighth year from Buddhahood when the hour of the meal was announced, the *conqueror,* the *saviour,* the *lord of sages,* residing at Jetavana, wore his outer robe, took the alms-bowl and, accompanied by five hundred *bhikkhus,* went to the Kalyāṇi-country, the abode of Maṇiakkhika.

In a gem-set pavilion, erected on the site of the Kalyāṇi-cetiya, he took his place on the very precious throne, accompanied by the Sangha. The nāga-king, rejoicing greatly, together with his retinue, served hard and soft celestial food to the *king of Dhamma,* the *conqueror,* and his followers.

There the *master,* compassionate to the whole world, preached the doctrine. The *chief* rose to Sumanakūṭā and displayed his foot-print. At the foot of that mountain he spent the day at ease with the Sangha and set forth for Dıghavāpi. There, at the site of the *cetiya,* the *saviour* sat with the Sangha and entered into meditation to consecrate the spot.

Arising from that place, the *great sage, the knower of places—suitable and otherwise—proceeded to the site of Mahāmeghavanārāma.*

The saviour, along with the disciples, sat at the site where the sacred Bodhi tree would stand and entered into meditation; and likewise at the site of the Great Thūpa as well as where the *thūpa* of Thūpārama would be. Rising from meditation, he went to the site of the Silācetiya. The *Buddha,* the leader of the assembly, who had trodden all the paths of enlightenment, having admonished the assembly of gods who gathered together, departed thence for Jetavana.

* * *

Thus, the *saviour,* the *light of the world,* of boundless wisdom and immense compassion came thrice to this beautiful island, anticipating the future benefit to Lankā and seeing the good of the gods, the *nāgas* and others of Lankā at that particular moment. By this, the island, honoured by the pious, came to be resplendent as the righteous isle.

Here ends the Visit to Kalyāṇi.

The First Chapter, called "The Visit of the Tathāgata" in the *Mahāvaṃsa,* compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER II

THE DYNASTY OF MAHĀSAMMATA

Sprung from the race of *Mahāsammata* was the *great sage.* At the beginning of this aeon, there was a king named Mahāsammata. His sons and grandsons were Roja and Vararoja;the two Kalyāṇakas; Uposatha and Mandhāta; the two Caraka and Upacara; Cetiya, Mucala, Mahāmucala, Sāgara as well as the one named Sāgaradeva; Bharata, Angīrasa, Ruci and also Suruci; Patāpa and Mahāpatāpa as well as the Panādas; and similarly the pairs of Sudassana and Neru and Accimā. These twenty-eight rulers whose lifetime was immeasurable dwelt in Kusāvati, Rājagaha and Mithilā.

Thence their descendants in groups—a hundred kings, fifty-six, sixty, eighty-four thousand, then further thirty-six, thirty-two, twenty-eight, then further twenty-two, eighteen, seventeen, fifteen, fourteen, nine, seven, twelve, then further twenty-five, twenty-five, twelve, twelve,nine, eighty-four thousand commencing with Makhādeva, also eighty–four thousand commencing with Kalārajanaka and sixteen upto Okkāka–reigned in order separately in their own capitals.

Okkāka's eldest son was Okkāmukha and his sons and grandsons were Nipuṇa, Candimā, Candamukha, Sivisañjaya, the great king Vesantara, Jāli, Sīhavāhana and Sīhassara. Eighty-two thousand were the royal sons and grandsons of king Sīhassara; Jayasena was the last of them.

These are known as the Sākya kings of Kapilavatthu.

* * *

The great king Sīhahaṇu was Jayasena's son. Jayasena's daughter was named Yasodharā. In Devadahā, there was a ruler

named Devadahasakka. He had two children Añjana and Kaccānā. Kaccānā was the chief queen of king Sīhahanu and Yasodharā was that of Añjanasakka. Añjana's two daughters were Māyā and Pajāpati and his two sons Daṇḍpaṇand Sākiya Suppabuddha. But Sīhahanu had five sons—Suddhodana, Dhotodana, Sakkodana, Sukkodana and Amitodana—and two daughters—Amitā and Pamitā.

Amitā was the chief queen of Sakka Suppabuddha. He had two children, Bḥaddakaccānā and Devadatta. Māyā and Pajāpati were the chief queens of Suddhodana. Our *conqueror* was the son of the great king Suddhodana by Māyā.

Thus in the dynasty of Māhasammata, as it proceeded unbroken, was born the *great sage* at the head of all Kṣatriyas. That Bhaddakaccānā was the chief consort of Prince Siddhattha, the Bodhisatta. Her son was Rāhula.

* * *

Bimbisāra and Prince Siddhattha were friends; so had been their fathers. The Bodhisatta was five years older than Bimbisāra. At the age of twenty-nine years the Bodhisatta renounced. Having striven for six years he eventually attained enlightenment. At the age of thirty-five, he met Bimbisāra.

Bimbisāra of great merit, at the age of fifteen years, was anointed by his father. In the sixteenth year of his kingship, so attained, the master *preached the Dhamma. Verily, he ruled for fifty-two years, fifteen years prior to the meeting with the* conqueror *and thirty-seven during the Tathāgata's life-time.*

Bimbisāra's senseless son, the great traitor to friends, killed him and reigned for thirty-two years. In the eighth year of Ajātasattu, the sage passed away. He reigned further for twenty-four years.

* * *

The Tathāgata, who had reached the summit of all virtue, succumbed—though not subject to control—to the power of impermanence. Here, he who contemplates the frightful impermanence thus attains the end of suffering.

The Second Chapter called "The Dynasty of Mahāsammata" in the *Mahāvaṃsa* compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST COUNCIL

The incomparable "five-eyed" *conqueror* passed forty-five years fulfilling, in every manner, all his obligations to the world. On a full moon day, at Kusinārā, in the holy place between the twin Sāla trees, that *light of the world* was extinguished.

Innumerable *bhikkhus* assembled there, so did kṣatriyas, brahmans, vaiśyas, śudras and gods. Among them were seven hundred thousand leading monks. Thera Mahākassapa was then the Sanghatthera (i.e.the senior *thera*).

The great *thera* performed the rites due to the body and bodily relics of the master. Desiring that the Dhamma of the *master* endures a long time, on the seventh day of the passing away of the *lord of the world,* possessed of ten powers, he recollected the evil words, uttered by the aged Subhadda.

He recalled the gifts of a robe whereby the Buddha made him his equal and favoured him to establish the true Dhamma. Now that there was the approval of the *Buddha* to recite the true Dhamma, he selected five hundred excellent *bhikkhus,* who had mastered the ninefold doctrine,[1] were well-versed in all elements and had overcome defilements—less one on account of Thera Ānanda. Thera Ānanda, too, who was repeatedly entreated by the *bhikkhus,* agreed to do the recitation, as it was impossible to do it without him.

Those *theras,* compassionate to the whole world, passed a fortnight—seven days in holy ceremonies and seven days in homage to the relics—and resolved, "We shall spend the rainy season at Rājagaha and compile the Dhamma. Let none else dwell there." *Theras,* then wandered about in Jambudīpa consoling at different places the grief-stricken people.

* * *

In the bright half of the month of Āsāḷha (June-July), they, who were desirous of preserving the pure version, reached Rājagaha

1. Refers to an ancient classificaton of the teachings of the Buddha according to literary form:e.g. verse, prose, question-answer etc.

where the fourfold requisites were abundant. These *theras,* led by Mahākassapa unwavering in virtue and well-versed in the views of the Buddha, observed Lent there itself. Having informed Ajatasattu, they proceeded to repair all the dwelling-places during the first month of the rainy season.

When the repair of the residences was finished, they told the king, "Now we shall do a recitation of the Dhamma." Asked, "What should be done?", they replied, "A meeting place." The king, having asked "Where?", constructed speedily a beautiful pavilion, comparable to an assembly hall of gods, at the place pointed out by them—by the side of the Vebhāra Rock at the entrance to the Saptaparṇi grotto.

Decorating it in every way, he caused priceless carpets to be spread there, according to the number of *bhikkhus.* Towards the south side, facing the north was the lofty and noble seat of the presiding *thera.* At the centre of the pavilion facing the east was the noble and well-appointed preacher's seat, which was worthy of the *blessed one.*

The king announced to the *theras,* "My work is finished." The *theras* told Ānanda, the producer of joy,"Tomorrow, Ānanda, is the assembly. Your going there as learner is not proper. Therefore, be diligent for the sake of the good." Thus motivated, he put forth due effort and attained Arahanthood, free of any posture.

* * *

On the second day of the second month of the rainy season, the *theras* assembled in the splendid pavilion. Leaving a suitable seat for Thera Ānanda, the Arahants took their seats as appropriate. The *thera,* so as to apprise them of his Arahanthood, did not come with them. But when some asked "Where is Thera Ānanda?", he dived through the earth and proceeded as on the path of light and sat on the seat assigned to him.

All *theras* made Thera Upāli responsible for the Vinaya and Thera Ānanda for the rest of the Dhamma in its entirety. The great *thera* (i.e.Mahākassapa) himself consented to ask questions on the Vinaya and Thera Upāli agreed likewise to answer them. Sitting on the presiding *thera's* seat, the former questioned on the Vinaya and, sitting on the preacher's seat, the other answered. In the manner in which it was explained by the foremost of specialists in the Vinaya, all others, who knew the custom, repeated the Vinaya.

The *thera* (i.e.Mahākassapa) himself, consenting to do so questioned on the Dhamma the treasurer[2] of the *great sage* (i.e. Thera Ānanda) who was the foremost of the erudite and the like. Thera Ānanda, likewise, volunteered himself, assumed the preacher's seat and expounded the Dhamma without an exception. In the manner in which the sage of Vedeha[3] explained it, all, who knew the meaning of the Dhamma, repeated the Dhamma.

Thus in seven months was that recitation of the Dhamma accomplished for the welfare of the whole world by those who were intent on the good of the whole world. The great earth, bounded by the ocean, trembled six times at the end of the recitation, rejoicing, "This dispensation of the *blessed one* has been rendered capable by the Thera Mahākassapa to endure for five thousand years." Many miracles of various kinds also took place in the world.

* * *

As it was established by the *theras,* this (i.e.recitation) is known as the *Theriya Tradition.* Accomplishing the first compilation and, thereby, much benefit to the world, all these *theras* lived their span of life and passed away.

* * *

Even these theras, great lights in the conquest of world's darkness—who by the light of wisdom had overcome darkness-were extinguished by the dread tempest of death. Even so should the wise renounce the arrogance of life.

The Third Chapter called "The First Recitation of the Dhamma" in the *Mahāvaṃsa* compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

---

2. Thera Ānanda is called Dhammabhaṇḍāgārika, the treasurer of the Buddha's teachings, as he is reputed to have memorized them with the intention of safeguarding them for posterity.
3. Sage of Vedeha = Thera Ānanda.

CHAPTER IV

THE SECOND COUNCIL

Ajātasattu's son, Udayabhadda, the traitor, put him to death and reigned sixteen years. Anuraddha, the son of Udayabhadda, slew him and Anuruddha's son, named Muṇḍa, killed him. These treacherous fools reigned eight years. Muṇḍa's son, Nāgadāsa, the evil-doer, killed his father and reigned twenty-four years.

The citizens, being angry that this was a dynasty of patricides banished Nāgadāsa. Assembling together, they, mindful of the good of everybody, anointed as king the minister named Sisunāga, who was acclaimed to be worthy. He reigned eighteen years and his son, Kālāsoka, twenty-eight years. When the tenth year of the reign of Kālāsoka elapsed, it was a hundred years from the passing away of the Buddha.

At that time, many shameless *bhikkhus* of the Vajji clan expounded as proper the Ten Points: namely, 'Salt in the horn,' 'Two finger-breadths,''Going to the village', 'Dwelling', 'Consent', 'Customary Practice,' 'Unchurned Milk', 'Toddy', 'Seat without Fringe', and 'Gold' etc.

* * *

The Thera Yasa (the son of Brahman Kākaṇḍa) who was endowed with the six supernormal powers, heard of it while he was wandering about among the Vajjis. With the determination to settle it, he went to Mahāvana. The *bhikkhus* there had placed in the Uposatha-hall a bronze bowl full of water and had told the lay devotees, "give *kahāpaṇas* etc. to the Sangha." The *thera* dissuaded them saying "This is not proper. Do not give." They imposed on the Thera Yasa the Act of Reconciliation. He asked for a companion messenger and set out for the city with him, proclaiming to the citizens his compliance with the Dhamma.

Having heard the report of the companion messenger, the *bhikkhus* came to impose the Act of Suspension on the *thera* and

stood surrounding his house. The *thera* ascended and, passing through the air, halted at Kosambi. He sent messengers quickly to the *bhikkhus* of Pāvā and Avanti. He, himself, went to the Ahogangā mountain and informed all this to the Thera Sambhūta Sāṇavāsi.

Sixty *theras* from Pāvā and eighty from Avanti, all Arahants, converged in Ahogangā. The *bhikkhus* who assembled there from here and there were in all ninety-thousand. They all conferred together and, knowing that the erudite Arahant Revata of Soreyya was the chief among them at that time, departed to see him.

The *thera,* having heard this resolution set out from there for Vesali that very moment so as to travel easily. Arriving daily in the morning the place which the great *thera* had left in the evening, they met him eventually at Sahajāti.

There, the Thera Yasa, who had been urged by the Thera Sambhūta, went upto the noble Thera Revata, at the end of the sermon, and questioned him on the Ten Points. The *thera,* having heard the dispute, rejected them and also said, "Let us Prohibit them."

* * *

The heretics, too, desiring support, saw the Thera Revata. Taking in abundance the requisites of monks, they travelled fast by boat and approached Sahajāti, lavishing sumptuous food at meal times. The Arahant Thera Sāḷha, residing in Sahajāti, thought on the matter and perceived, "Those of Pāvā uphold the Dhamma." Mahābrahma approached him and said "Stand by the Dhamma." He replied that he had always stood by the Dhamma.

The heretics, taking gifts, saw the Thera Revata. The *thera* did not take their side. He dismissed those who sided them. Thence they went to Vesāli and from there to Pupphapura and, being shameless, told king Kālāsoka, "Protecting the perfumed chamber of our *Master,* we live in the Mahāvanavihāra in the Vajjian territory. Village-dwelling monks are coming with the thoughts, 'We shall capture the *vihāra.* Forbid them, O great king." Having misled the king, they returned to Vesāli.

Here at Sahajāti, however, eleven hundred and ninety thousand *bhikkhus* assembled under the Thera Revata to settle the dispute. The *thera* did not wish to settle the dispute without its originators. Hence all those *bhikkhus* proceeded to Vesali.

* * *

The king, who was misinformed, sent his ministers there. By the power of *devas,* they lost their way and went elsewhere. After sending them, the king, in a dream that night, saw himself being hurled into the hell called Lohakumbhi. He was utterly frightened and his sister Arahant Theri Nandā came through the air to calm him. Having said, "A very serious offence has been committed by you. Seek the forgivance of the righteous noble ones. Take their side and support their faith. When this done, you will be blessed," she departed. At dawn, itself, the king started for Vesāli.

He went to Mahāvana, assembled the community of *bhikkhus,* listened to the arguments of both sides, and decided in favour of the side of the Dhamma. The king obtained pardon from all righteous *bhikkhus,* announced his partiality to the side of the Dhamma and said, "Support the Faith as you please." Having provided for their security, he returned to his city.

* * *

Then the Sangha assembled to decide upon those Points. There, among the Sangha arose aimless disputations. At that stage, the Thera Revata went to the midst of the Sangha and made the decision to resolve this matter through arbitration. To settle these Points, *bhikkhus* were selected to the committee of arbitration—four from the East and four from Pāvā. Sabbakāmi, Sāḷha, Khujjasobhita and Vāsabhagāmika were the *theras* of the East. The four *theras* from Pāvā were Revata, Sāṇasambhūta, Yasa, the son of Kākaṇḍa, and Sumana.

To resolve those Points, the eight Arahant Theras proceeded to the noiseless and unruffled Vālikārāma. There, the great *theras,* who were specialists in the thoughts of the *great sage,* sat on the pleasant seats prepared by young Ajita. The great Thera Revata, skilled in questioning, questioned the Thera Sabbakāmi on each one of those Points in order.

The great Thera Sabbakāmi so questioned by him, pronounced, "All these Points are improper according to the rule of discipline." Having disposed of the dispute here, they did, likewise in order, the questioning and answering in the presence of the Sangha also. The great *theras* refuted those ten thousand heretical *bhikkhus,* who expounded the Ten Points.

* * *

Then Sabbakāmi, who counted one hundred and twenty years from higher ordination, was the senior *thera*. The six Theras Sabbakāmi, Sāḷha, Revata, Khujjasobhita, Yasa, the son of Kākaṇḍa and Sambhūta Sāṇavāsi—were pupils of the Thera Ānanda. The two *theras* Vāsabhagāmika and Sumana—were pupils of the Thera Anuruddha. The eight *theras* were fortunate for they had seen the *Tathāgata* in the past.

* * *

One hundred and twelve thousand *bhikkhus* had come together and the Thera Revata then was chief of all *bhikkhus*. Then the Thera Revata, so as to hold a recitation of the Dhamma for the long endurance of the true Dhamma, selected, out of the assemblage of all *bhikkhus*, seven hundred Arahant *bhikkhus*, who knew by heart the three Piṭakas and who had developed the knowledge of meaning and so on.

All of them, led by the Thera Revata, being protected by the King Kālāsoka, did the compilation of the Dhamma at Vālikārāma. They accepted the Dhamma established in the past and also proclaimed later and completed it in eight months. Even these very famous *theras*, who had reached the elimination of evil, having performed the second recitation, passed away in due time.

* * *

Thus, remembering the demise of the sons of the saviour of the world, *who were exceptionally wise, who had attained all that is to attain and who strove for the benefit of the threefold existences, one should consider, without exception, the futility of Aggregates and be diligent.*

The Fourth Chapter called "The Second Recitation of the Dhamma" in the *Mahāvaṃsa* compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER V

THE THIRD COUNCIL

That recitation of the true Dhamma, done by the great *theras* beginning with Mahākassapa and others, is called that of the *theras*. During the first hundred years, the tradition of the *theras* *(Theravāda)* was the one and only. Later on however, arose other traditions of teachers (*Ācariyavāda*).

* * *

Those heretical *bhikkhus*, ten thousand in all, who were discredited by the *theras* conducting the second recitation, founded the sect, named Mahāsanghika. From this arose the Gokulikas and Ekabbohārikas. From the Gokulikas arose the Paññattivādas and the Bāhulikas and, among them, the Cetiyavādas. With the Mahāsanghikas, thus, there were six.

Again, out of Theravādins arose these two: namely, Mahiṃsāsaka *bhikkhus* and Vacchiputtika *bhikkhus*. The Vacchiputtika *bhikkhus*, similarly, became Dhammuttarīya, Bhadrayānika, Channāgarika and Sammatīya *bhikkhus*.

From Mahiṃāsaka *bhikkhus* originated these two: namely, Sabbatthivādins and Dhammaguttika *bhikkhus*. Out of the Sabbatthivādins arose the Kassapīyas and from them Sankantikā *bhikkhus*. Out of them ensued the Suttavādins. Along with theTheravādins, these were twelve. With the six sects mentioned earlier there were in all eighteen.

Thus, in the second century, arose seventeen. Afterwards, however, developed other traditions of teachers. These six, namely, Hemavatas, Rājagiriyas, Siddhatthikas, Pubbaseliya and Aparaseliya Bhikkhus and Vājiriyas broke away in Jambudīpa.

Dhammarucikas and Sāgalikas broke away in the island Lankā.

Here ends the story of the Traditions of Teachers.

The sons of Kālāsoka were ten brothers. They ruled the kingdom for twenty-two years. Then the

nine Nandas were kings in succession. They, too, reigned twenty-two years.

Then did the Brahman Cāṇakka, violently angry, kill the ninth, Dhanananda, and anoint as king over entire Jambudīpa the glorious scion of the Moriya kṣatriyas, known as Candagutta. This king reigned twenty-four years and his son, Bindusāra, twenty-eight years.

The famous sons of Bindusāra were one hundred and one but, Asokā, among them possessed merit, majesty, might and miraculous powers. He killed ninety-nine of his step-brothers and won the sole sovereignty over entire Jambudīpa.

It should be known that from the demise of the conqueror *to his consecration were two hundred and eighteen years.*

Four years after attaining sole sovereignty, he, of great fame, consecrated himself in the city of Pāṭaliputta.

At the same time as his consecration, his commands spread constantly into the sky as well as into the earth for a *yojana* in each direction. The gods brought daily eight *pingo*-loads of water from Anotatta lake. It was evenly distributed to the people by them. The gods also brought from the Himālayas, betel-leaves and tooth-picks, enough for several thousands and likewise also medicinal myrobalan as well as medicinal herbs and, also from there, mango-fruit of superior colour, fragrance nad taste. Spirits of the air brought, from the Chaddanta lake, garments of five colours, yellow strip-cloth for wiping hands and celestial drink. The nāgas brought from the nāga-abode threadless jasmine-blossom bands, celestial water-lily, unguents and collyrium. Parrots, too, brought daily ninety-thousand cart-loads of rice from the Chaddanta lake itself. Mice removed the husk and the bran from the rice without breaking the grains. With that was rice cooked for the royal household. Honey-bees made honey for him perpetually and, in the smitheries, bears wielded the hammers. Attractive and sweet-voiced cuckoo birds came there and made sweet music for the king.

Asoka, who was consecrated king, anointed his younger brother called Prince Tissa as sub-king.

Here ends the Consecration of Asoka the Righteous

The father had provided meals to sixty-thousand Brahmans, faithful to Brahmā. He, too, fed them for three years. Seeing their lack of demeanour at the distribution of food, Asoka ordered the ministers, "We shall give alms after careful investigation." The wise one commanded them to invite separately followers of different schools. He got them seated, questioned them, and, having fed them, sent them away.

Once, standing at the window, he saw the peaceful recluse, Sāmaṇera Nigrodha going in the street and was pleased.

The youth was the son of Prince Sumana, the eldest brother of all the sons of Bindusāra. When Bindusāra fell ill, Asoka left the kingdom of Ujjeni, given to him by his father and returned to Pupphā pura. At the death of his father, he made the city his own, had his eldest brother slain and took over the sovereignty in the splendid city.

The consort of Prince Sumana, who bore the same name and was pregnant, fled by the eastern gate and reached a caṇḍāla village outside. There, the deity of a banyan tree called her by her name, made a hut to appear and gave it to her. That day, itself, she gave birth to a noble son. Recalling the favour of the deity, she named her son Nigrodha.

The headman of the caṇḍālas saw her and, considering her to be his mistress, tended them well for seven years. Then the Thera Mahāvaruṇa saw the prince who possessed the eligibility for deliverance. The Arahant asked the mother and ordained him. In the room where he was shaved, he attained Arahanthood.

Going to see his royal mother then, he entered the excellent city by the southern gate and was going past the kings' compound along the road leading to his village.

The king was pleased with him on account of his calm posture. Further due to his association in the past birth, there arose in him a feeling of affection.

In the past, there were three brothers, who were vendors of honey. One sold honey and the other two supplied it. A Paccekabuddha was afflicted with a sickness of sores. Another Paccekabuddha looking for honey for his sake, entered the city at that time in the course of begging for alms.

A servant-girl, going to the ford for water, saw him. She asked him, found out the need for honey and, pointing with her hand, said, "Venerable Sir, over there is a honey-store. Go there." There the merchant, being full of faith gave the Paccekabuddha a bowlful of honey overflowing from the brim. Being pleased on seeing the honey streaming down to the ground, he then resolved thus, "By this gift, may the sole sovereignty over Jambudīpa accrue to me. May my authority extend to a *yojana* in the sky and a *yojana* inside the earth."

To the brothers, who returned, he said, "I gave honey to such a person, rejoice over it as the honey is yours also." The eldest, being displeased, said,"It was surely a caṇḍāla; they are ever in yellow." The middle one said, "Away with your Paccekabuddha over the sea." Having heard the words of offering merit, they, too, partook of it. She that pointed out the store, also wished for herself the position of a queen, with exceedingly attractive beauty and invisible joints.

Asoka was the honey-giver;and the servant-girl was Asandhimittā. He who spoke of caṇḍāla, was the Nigrodha and the one, who said 'over the sea' was Tissa. He who spoke of caṇḍāla, lived on account of it in a caṇḍāla-village. But as he wished for deliverance, he attained it even at the age of seven years.

The king, in whom affection had arisen towards Sāmaṇera Nigrodha, summoned him in great haste. Being of tranquil behaviour, he,too,went. The king said, "Dear one, sit on a fitting seat." Not seeing any other *bhikkhu,* he approached the throne. When he was coming to the throne, the king thought thus, "Today the *sāmaṇera* will be the lord of my house."

Holding on to the king's hand, he mounted the throne. He sat on the royal throne under the white parasol. Seeing him seated in this manner, Asoka, the lord of the earth, honoured him for his qualities and was exceedingly happy at that time.

Having refreshed the *sāmaṇera* with hard and soft food, prepared for the king himself, he questioned the Sāmaṇera Nigrodha on the Dhamma, expounded by the *Buddha.* The *sāmaṇera* preached to him the "Chapter on Heedfulness." The ruler of the earth, hearing it, was converted to the faith of the *conqueror.*

He said, "Dear one, I will give you eight regular supplies of food." He replied, "King, I will give them to my preceptor." When further eight were given, he assigned them to the teacher. Once more when eight were given, he bestowed them on the community of *bhikkhus.* When eight were given again, the wise one accepted them. On the next day he took with him thirty-two *bhikkhus.* Being served by the king with his own hands, he preached the Dhamma to the lord of the earth and established him, together with a large crowd, in the refuges and the precepts.

Here ends the Meeting with the Sāmaṇera Nigrodha

Thenceforth, the king, being pleased, doubled the number daily until it increased in due course to sixty thousand *bhikkhus.* Putting aside the sixty-thousand heretics he fed sixty-thousand *bhikkhus* regularly in his house.

To feed sixty-thousand *bhikkhus,* he had very costly food, hard and soft, prepared speedily, got the city decorated and invited the Saṅgha. He brought them home, fed them and presented the requisites for monks. He then asked, "How much in extent is the Dhamma expounded by the *Master?*" The Thera Moggaliputta Tissa explained it to him.

Having heard, "There are eighty-four thousand sections of the Dhamma," the lord of the earth said, "Each one of them will I honour with a *vihāra.*" Then the king gave ninety-six crores and arranged the administrators in each of eighty-four thousand cities

on earth to start the *vihāras*. He, himself began to get Asokārāma built.

To each element in the Faith, namely, the Triple Gem, Nigrodha and the sick he gave daily a hundred thousand. With the money given to the *Buddha,* many people held continually Thūpa-offerings of many kinds in many *vihāras*. With the money given to the *Dhamma* the people brought excellent fourfold requisites constantly to *bhikkhus* well-versed in the Dhamma. Out of the *pingo*-loads of water from the Anotatta lake, he gave four to the Sangha, and one daily to sixty *theras* who knew the Tipiṭaka. But he arranged one to be given to Queen Asandhimittā. The king himself enjoyed two. Daily he gave tooth-picks, called Nāgalatā, to sixty-thousand *bhikkhus* and sixteen-thousand women.

* * *

One day, the king heard of the nāga-king, Mahākāla, an aeon in age and possessed of great miraculous powers, who had seen four *Buddhas*. The king despatched men with a chain of gold to bring him. Having brought him, he made him sit on the throne under the white parasol and paid homage to him with various flowers.

Accompanied by sixteen thousand ladies, the king said, "Friend, show me the form of the *great sage* of boundless knowledge, the *universal monarch* of the true Dhamma."

The nāga-king created an attractive figure of the *Buddha,* endowed with the thirty-two signs, brilliant with eighty characteristics surrounded by a fathom-wide nimbus and adorned with *ketumālā*. Seeing it, he was filled with great joy and amazement.

He was more and more uplifted with joy, thinking, "If the image created by this one is like this, how indeed must the form of the *Tathāgata* have been!" The great king of wondrous powers caused the great festival called the "offering of eyes" to be celebrated for a week without interruption.

Here ends Entrance to the Faith

The devout lord of the earth, who was thus of great power, and the Thera Moggaliputta were anticipated by the recluses of the past.

The *theras* at the Second Recitation, looking into the future, foresaw the downfall of the Faith during the time of this king. Surveying all worlds for one who could stay this downfall, they saw the Brahmā Tissa, whose life-time was soon to expire. They approached him and asked him of mighty wisdom to take birth among human beings and to check that downfall. Desirous of rendering lustre to the Faith, he gave them his promise.

* * *

Then they told the young *bhikkhus,* Siggava and Caṇḍavajji, "Beyond one hundred and eighteeen years, there will be a danger to the Faith. We shall not witness it. You, *bhikkhus,* did not participate in the present resolution of dispute. You, therefore, deserve punishment and your punishment will be this: For the purpose of rendering lustre to the Faith, the Brahmā Tissa of mighty wisdom will take birth in the house of the Brahman Moggali. One of you should ordain the boy in time and one should teach him well the word of the *Buddha*." The Thera Dāsaka was a disciple of the Thera Upāli. Soṇaka was his disciple. Siggava and Caṇḍavajji were Soṇaka's disciples.

* * *

In the past in Vesāli was a Brahman named Dāsaka. Dwelling with his teacher as the eldest of three hundred disciples, he had mastered the Vedas even at the age of twelve years. Going about with students, he saw the Thera Upāli living at Valikārāma after the compilation of the Dhamma. He sat by the *thera* and questioned him on difficult passages of the Vedas. The *thera* explained them. Concerning *name, the thera* said thus, "There is one thing pervading all other things. In one thing all other things are absorbed. Young man, what is it?" But the young man did not know it. He asked "What doctrine is that?" Being told, "The doctrine of the

Buddha," he said, "Impart it to me." The *thera* replied, "We shall give to them who bear our guise." For the sake of the doctrine, he sought permission from his teacher as well as his mother and father. The young man, along with three hundred youths, obtained ordination from the *thera* and in due course, received higher ordination.

To a thousand Arahants with the Thera Dāsaka as the eldest did the Thera Upāli teach the whole of the Tipiṭaka. Past reckoning was the number of other Ariyas and worldly beings, by whom the Piṭakas were studied under the *thera.*

* * *

Among the Kāsis was the son of a caravan-leader named Soṇaka. He went to Giribbaja for trading along with his parents. Accompanied by fifty-five youths, the boy, went to Veluvana. There, he saw the Thera Dāsaka with his following. Being pleased, he asked for ordination and the *thera* said, "Ask your parents."

The youth, by fasting for three meals, compelled the mother and father to approve his ordination. He came with the other youths, obtained ordination and also higher ordination and studied the Tipiṭaka. Among the thousand Arahants, the community of the *thera's* disciples, who had mastered the Piṭakas, the recluse Soṇaka was the foremost.

* * *

In the city called Pāṭali, there was a wise son of a minister, named Siggava. While residing in three palaces, befitting the three seasons, he took his friend Caṇḍavajji, a minister's son, and, accompanied, by five hundred men went to Kukkuṭārāma. He saw the Thera Soṇaka, absorbed in trance with senses restrained.

Finding him silent, when he was worshipped, Siggava questioned the Sangha. They replied,

"Those absorbed in trance do not speak." Being asked, "How do they get out of a trance?" the *bhikkhus* said, "They come out at the call of the master or the behest of the Sangha or at the end of allotted time or at the approach of death." Saying so, the *bhikkhus* saw their eligibility for deliverance and caused the call of the Sangha to be sent. The *thera* arose from the trance and went to them.

The youth asked, "Venerable Sir, why did you not speak to me?" He replied,"We were enjoying what we should enjoy."

"Let us also enjoy."

"When you become like us we could make you enjoy it."

Obtaining the permission of father and mother, the young Siggava and Caṇḍavajji, with also the five hundred men, obtained ordination and higher ordination from the Thera Soṇaka. Under the preceptor, himself, they studied the Tipiṭaka eagerly and attained the six supernormal powers.

* * *

The Thera Siggava knew of the birth of Tissa and, from that time, went to his house for seven years. For seven years the *thera* did not get even the bare words, "Go on". In the eighth year, he was told "Go on."

The Brahman Moggali, who entered, saw him leaving and asked, "Did you get anything at our house?" He replied, "Yes." Brahman went home, questioned and, the next day, reproached the *thera,* who came to his house, with telling a lie.

The Brahman heard the *thera's* explanation and was pleased. He gave the *bhikkhus* regularly some food out of what was cooked for himself. Gradually the *thera* won the faith of all the people in the house. The Brahman got him to sit in his house and partake of food.

Thus as time passed gradually, the young Tissa, by the age of sixteen years, had reached the further

shore of the ocean of three Vedas. The thera, thinking, "There will thus be an occasion to start a conversation," made all seats in the house save the seat of the youth to disappear. On account of his coming from the Brahma-world, he was particular on cleanliness. Therefore he had his seat perfumed and hung.

Now since the *thera* stood, the people of the house, being confused on not seeing any other seat, prepared for him the seat of the youth. Returning from the teacher, the youth saw the *thera* seated there, lost his temper and spoke unfriendly words. The *thera* asked him, "Youth, what doctrine do you know?" The youth posed in turn the same question to the *thera*. When the *thera* replied, "I know it," he questioned him on hard passages of the Vedas. The *thera* explained them to him. The *thera*, while yet being a lay man, had, himself, reached the further shore of the Vedas. To him who had developed Analytical Knowledge, what was there that could not be expounded?

The erudite *thera* asked him this question from *Cittyamaka*. "Whose consciousness arises and does not cease, his consciousness ceases and does not arise. Again, whose consciousness ceases and does not arise, his consciousness arises and does not cease?" It was like darkness to him. He asked, "Bhikkhu, whose doctrine is this?" The other replied, "The doctrine of the *Buddha*."

"Impart it to me."

"We give it to one who dons our guise."

Permitted by parents, he wandered forth for the sake of the doctrine. The *thera* ordained him and gave him a suitable subject for meditation. He, of mighty wisdom, applying himself to meditation attained the Fruit of the Stream-winner. The *thera* knew it and sent him to the presence of the Thera Caṇḍavajji to study the Sutta and the Abhidhamma.

He did so there.

The recluse Siggava, in due time, had him given the

higher ordination and taught him the Vinaya and, again, the other two Piṭakas. Then the young Tissa embarked on Insight and attained the six supernormal powers.

In time he reached the status of a *thera*. Exceedingly renowned, he was like the sun and the moon. The people minded his word as though it was the word of the *Buddha*.

Here ends the Rise of the Thera Moggaliputta-Tissa.

One day the sub-king, Tissa, went hunting and saw the deer playing in the forest. Seeing it, he thought, "Even the deer, who feed on grass, play thus in the forest. Why don't the *bhikkhus* who dwell in comfort enjoy themselves?"

He returned home and reported his thought to the king. To teach him, the king handed over the government to him for seven days. The king said, "Prince, enjoy this kingdom for seven days. After that I will put you to death."

When seven days elapsed, the king asked, "How have you become so lean?" When it was said,"Through fear of death," the king said again, "You did not enjoy seven days thinking 'I will die.' How could these recluses who are ever conscious of death enjoy themselves?"

Being thus spoken to by the brother, he became pleased in the Faith. Once he went hunting and saw the self-controlled Thera Arahant Mahādhammarakkhita, seated at the foot of a tree, being fanned by an elephant with a *sāla*-branch. The wise prince thought, "when will I, too, be ordained in the Faith of the *conqueror* like this *thera* and live in the forest?"

The *thera,* with the intention of winning his faith, came flying through the air, stood on the water of the pond of Asokarāma, left his excellent robes in the sky, plunged into the pond and bathed his limbs. The wise sub-king saw this marvel and, being pleased, made up his mind, "Today itself I will wander forth." Approaching the king, he, with

affection, begged for ordination. Unable to dissuade him, the lord of the earth accompanied him to the *vihāra* with a large retinue.

He was ordained under the Thera Mahādhammarakkhita and, with him, four hundred thousand persons. The number of those who were ordained afterwards is not even known.

* * *

The king's nephew, known as Aggibrahmā was the consort of the king's daughter, Sanghamittā. Their son, too, was named Sumana. Aggibrahmā, too, begged of the king and was ordained with the sub-king. That ordination of the sub-king, which gave rise to the well-being of many people, took place in the fourth year of king Asoka. Being given higher ordination that year itself, the sub-king, possessing eligibility for deliverance, strove zealously and became an Arahant with the six supernormal powers.

* * *

All those beautiful *vihāras* which were started in all cities they (i.e.the Rājus) completed well in three years. By the miraculous power of the Thera Indagutta, who supervisd the work, the *vihāra* called Asokarāma was also soon completed. The king made attractive *cetiyas* to be built in various places which the *conqueror* had visited. From every direction—from eighty-four thousand cities—letters came on the same day saying, "The *vihāras* are completed."

The great king, eminent in majesty, might and miraculous power. desirous of conducting the lofty inaugural ceremonies of all monasteries by himself, proclaimed in the city with beat of drum, "On the seventh day from today there will be ceremonies everywhere in all monasteries in all provinces. At every *yojana* on earth, give sumptuous alms. Decorate the villages, the monasteries and the roads. In all *vihāras,* arrange great offerings to the community of *bhikkhus* in every way, according to the time and the means. Instal here and there decorations of festoons of lamps and garlands of flowers; and pay homage of various forms with every kind of music. May everyone observe the Uposatha-precepts and listen to the Dhamma and, on this day, engage in different kinds of ceremonies." As commanded and, even in addition, everyone

everywhere and in every manner organized ceremonies as alluring as heavenly worlds.

That day,the great king,adorned in all ornaments,accompanied by the women of his household and surrounded by a flood of soldiers went to his own monastery (i.e. Asokarāma), as if splitting the earth. He worshipped the noble Sangha and stood amidst them. In that assembly were eighty crores of *bhikkhus*—a hundred thousand of them being Arahant recluses. There were ninety hundred thousands of *bhikkhuṇīs* and of them a thousand were Arahants.

So as to please the King Asoka the Righteous—he was known earlier as Asoka the Wicked due to his evil deeds and later as Asoka the Righteous for his pious deeds—these Arahants wrought the miracle called the unveiling of the world. He saw on all directions Jamabudīpa, bounded by the ocean, and all the *vihāras* decorated for various ceremonies.

* * *

Exceedingly delighted on seeing them, he sat down and asked the Sangha, "In the Faith of the *blessed one,* whose generosity has been great, venerable sirs?" The Thera Moggaliputta answered the king's question, "Even when the *blessed one* was alive, there was no generous giver like you."

Being further delighted on hearing these words, the king asked him, "Is there indeed an heir to the *Buddha's* Faith like me?" The *thera* who was charged with the responsibility for the Faith, perceived the eligibility for deliverance of the king's son Mahinda, and also of his daughter, Sanghamittā, and, foreseeing the progress of the Faith on their account, responded thus to the king, "O ruler of men, even a lavish giver like you is not an heir to the Faith and also our supporter."

Then the lord of the earth desirous of the status of an heir to the Faith, asked Mahinda and Sanghamittā, who were standing there, "Dear ones, will you be ordained? Ordination is considered to be great." Hearing the father's words, they said to him, "O Lord, if you so wish, we shall be ordained today itself. By our ordination there will be a benefit to us as well as to you."

Since the time of the ordination of the sub-king, he and, since that of Aggibrahmā, she had made up their minds to wander forth.

Even though the king wished to confer the sub-kingship on Mahinda, he preferred ordination itself considering it to be greater. He made his beloved son, Mahinda, who distinguished himself by intelligence, beauty and power and the daughter, Sanghamittā, to be ordained with ceremony.

At thàt time, Mahinda, the son of the king, was twenty years of age, and the royal daughter, Sanghamittā, eighteen years. His ordination and higher ordination took place on the same day. Her ordination and the impartation of training also took place on the same day.

The preceptor for the Prince was named Moggali. The Thera Mahādeva ordained him and Majjhantika pronounced the official acts. The great being (i.e.Mahinda) attained Arahanthood with Analytical Knowledge at the place of higher ordination.

The preceptress of Sanghamittā was known as Dhammapālā and her teacher was Ayupālā. In time, she became an Arahant. Both these lights of the Faith, benefactors of the island of Lankā, were ordained in the sixth year of king Asoka the Righteous.

* * *

The great Mahinda, the converter of the island, studied with his preceptor the three Piṭakas in three years. That Bhikkhuṇī (i.e. Sanghamittā), like the crescent moon, and Bhikkhu Mahinda, like the sun, illuminated then for ever the sky of the Faith of the *Buddha.*

* * *

> In the past, a forester from Pāṭaliputta, wandering about in the forest, cohabited with Kinnarī Kuntī. Following this union she gave birth to two sons: elder named Tissa and the younger Sumitta. In time they were ordained by the Thera Mahāvaruṇa. Both of them attained Arahanthood with the six supernormal powers.
>
> Infected in the foot by the poison of an insect, the elder was in pain. Asked by the younger, the *thera* told him that the remedy was a handful of ghee, but opposed informing the king and also going begging for ghee after the mid-day meal even though it was for medicine; "If you were to receive some ghee

> while begging for alms, bring it." Thus the *thera* told the noble Thera Sumitta.
>
> Begging for alms, he did not get a handful of ghee. The disease became incurable even with a hundred pitchers of ghee. By this disease itself, the *thera* had approached the end of his life. Having advised the other to be heedful, he made up his mind to pass away. He sat in the sky and, through the power of the fire-trance, resolved as he wished about the body and passed away. Flames arose from the *thera's* body and burned his entire body fleshless and skinless. They did not burn the bones.
>
> The king heard of the passing away of this *thera* in this manner and went to his monastery surrounded by a flood of people. Standing on the back of an elephant, the king brought down those bones and arranged the relics to be honoured. He asked the Sangha on the illness.

Being moved on hearing it, the king got tanks constructed at the city-gates and had them filled with medicaments. Saying "Let there be no scarcity of medicaments to the community of *bhikkhus,"* he had medicaments given to the Sangha every day.

The Thera Sumitta passed away while walking in the cloister. By this too, many people became exceedingly pleased in the Faith. These two thereas, the sons of Kuntī, passed away in the eighth year of King Asoka.

Hencefoth, the gain to the Sangha was exceedingly great since the people who were converted later maintained the benefit. The heretics, who were deprived of gain and honour, donned, for the sake of profit, the yellow robe by themselves and resided with *bhikkhus*. They expounded their own doctrine as the doctrine of the *Buddha*. They also carried out their own practices as they wished.

* * *

Then the Thera Moggaliputta, the enhancer of stead fast virtue, saw this very virulent canker which had arisen in the Faith. Being far-sighted, he bided his time for its resolution. Entrusting his great community of *bhikkhus* to the Thera Mahinda, he dwelled

seven years on the mountain of Ahoganga up the Gaṅgā, devoting himself to solitude.

On account of the numerical strength of the heretics and their invectives, the *bhikkhus* could not restrain them by the Dhamma. As a result, for seven years, the *bhikkhus* of all the monasteries of Jambudīpa had not performed *uposatha* or *pavāraṇa* ceremonies.

The great king Asoka the Righteous, of vast fame, heard about it and sent a minister to the splendid Asokarāma, saying, "Go and settle this matter. Get bhikkhus in my monastery to perform the *uposatha.*"

* * *

This fool went there, assembled the community of *bhikkhus* and announced the king's order, "Perform the *uposatha.*" The community of *bhikkhus* told the misguided minister, "We do not perform the *uposatha* with heretics." The minister beheaded with his sword several *bhikkhus* in order, saying "I will get the *uposatha* performed."

The Thera Tissa, the brother of the king saw this act, went quickly and sat on a seat near him. The minister saw the *thera,* went away and informed the king the whole incident. Hearing this the king was agonized. With his mind shaken, he went quickly and asked the community of *bhikkhus,* "To whom is the guilt for the act so done?" Among them certain ignorant ones said, "The guilt is yours", and the others said, "It belongs to both of you." The wise ones said, "It is not yours."

Having heard it, the king asked, "Is there any *bhikkhu* who is capable of dispelling my doubt and upliftng the Faith?" "O king, there is the Thera Tissa, the son of Moggali." So the Sangha told the king. At that, itself, the king was filled with esteem.

* * *

That very day, he sent four *theras,* each attended by a thousand *bhikkhus,* as well as four ministers, each with a thousand men, to bring, in his name, the *thera.* Informed so by them, he did not come. Hearing it, he sent again eight *theras* and eight ministers, each with a thousand followers. As before the *thera* did not come.

The king asked, "How, indeed, would the *thera* come?" The *bhikkhus* said that the *thera* would come when the purpose of his coming is stated, "Venerable Sir, be the helper to uplift the Faith."

Again the king, saying so, sent sixteen *theras* and sixteen ministers, each with a thousand followers, He said further, "Even as he is aged the *thera* will not get into any vehicle. Bring the *thera* by ship on the Gaṅgā.

They went to him and told him so. As soon as heard it, he rose. They brought the *thera* by ship. The king went there to meet him. Going down knee-deep into water, the king, with respect, offered his right hand to the *thera,* who was descending from the ship. The *thera,* worthy of offerings, being compassionate, held on to the right hand of the king through compassion and came down from the ship.

The king led the *thera* to the pleasure-garden, Rativaḍḍhana, washed and anointed the *thera's* feet and had him seated. Testing the *thera's* ability, the lord of the earth said, "Venerable Sir, I wish to see a miracle." When asked, "What?" he replied, "An earthquake." The *thera* asked him, "What do you wish to see—of the whole earth or of only a region?" He asked, "Which is difficult?" On hearing, "An earthquake of a region is difficult," he expressed his desire to see it.

The *thera* got a waggon, a horse, a man and a bowl full of water to be placed within the limit of a *yojana* in the four directions. He, through his miraculous power, shook that *yojana* of earth along with one half of each of them and showed the king who was seated there.

The lord of the earth asked the *thera* whether or not there was any guilt to him also on account of the killing of *bhikkhus* by the minister. The *thera* narrated the Tittirajātaka and convinced the king, "There is no resulting *Kamma* without evil intent."

Dwelling there in the beautiful royal pleasure-garden, the *thera* taught the ruler of the earth the auspicious doctrine of the *Buddha.* During that same week, the lord of the earth sent two yakkhas and assembled without exception the *bhikkhus* of the earth.

* * *

On the seventh day, he went to his own beautiful monastery and had the entire community of *bhikkhus* assembled. Seated with the

thera on a side behind a curtain, the lord of the earth sent for *bhikkhus* of different beliefs and asked them, "Venerable Sir, of what doctrine was the *blessed one?"* They expounded each his own view such as eternalism (*Sassata-vāda*). The king had all these heretics disrobed. In all sixty thousand were disrobed.

He asked the righteous *bhikkhus,* "Of what doctrine was the *blessed one?"* They said, "Of the Vibhajja-doctrine." The king asked the *thera,* "Venerable Sir, is the *Buddha* of the Vibhajja-doctrine?" The *thera* replied, "Yes." Hearing it then, the king, being pleased in mind told the *thera* thus: "As the Sangha is purified, Venerable Sir, may the Sangha, therefore, perform the *uposatha."* He provided protection for the Sangha and entered the auspicious city.Then the Sangha,in concord,performed the *uposatha.*

* * *

Out of the innumerable community of *bhikkhus,* the *thera* selected a thousand *bhikkhus,* who were erudite, possessed of the six supernormal powers, specialists in the three Piṭakas and well-versed in Analytical Knowledge, to do a compilation of the true Dhamma. By them the compilation of the true Dhamma was done at Asokarāma.

Just as the Thera Mahākassapa and the Thera Yasa did the recitation of the Dhamma, the Thera Tissa, too, accomplished it. In the recitation hall, the Thera Tissa expounded the book, *Kathāvatthu,* refuting other doctrines. Protected by king Asoka, this recitation of the Dhamma was so completed by a thousand *bhikkhus* in nine months.

In the eighteenth year of the king, the seventy-two year old sage closed this recitation with a great Pavāraṇa-ceremony. As if applauding the perpetuation of the Faith, the great earth shook at the end of the recitation.

* * *

He whose obligations had been fulfilled, abandoned the eminent and lovely Brahma-abode, came to the loathsome world of men for the sake of theFaith and accomplished the duty of the Faith. Who else verily may neglect the duty to the Faith?

The Fifth Chapter called "The Third Council" in the *Mahāvaṃsa* compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER VI

THE COMING OF VIJAYA

Among the Vangas, in the city of Vaṇga, there was in the past King Vanga. The daughter of the king of Kālinga was the chief consort of the king. By that queen the king had a daughter. Soothsayers prophesied her union with a king of beasts. She was very beautiful and exceedingly lustful. Through shame, she was detested by both the king and the queen.

Desiring the joy of independent life, she went out alone and *incognito* joined a caravan going to Magadha. In the Lāḷa-country, a lion attacked the caravan in the forest. Others fled elsewhere but she ran in the direction from which the lion came. The lion, while going after taking its prey saw her from far. Infatuated, he approached her, wagging the tail and lowering the ears. Seeing him, she recalled the prophesy of the soothsayers, which she had heard, and, without fear, stroked his limbs to his delight. Further excited by her caressing, the lion placed her on his back, took her quickly to his den and lived with her.

By this union, the princes, in time gave birth to twins—a son and a daughter. The hands and feet of the son were like those of a lion. Hence he was named Sīhabāhu; and the daughter Sīhasivalī. The son at sixteen years of age questioned the mother on the doubt, "Mother, why are you and our father different?" She told him everything. He asked,"Why don't we go?" She told him, "Your father blocks the cave with a rock." He carried the rock blocking the great cave on his shoulder and covered in one day fifty *yojanas* up and down.

* * *

When the lion had gone out in search of prey, he

departed speedily with the mother on the right shoulder and the younger sister on the left.Covering themselves with branches, they reached a border-village. At that time, the cousin of the princess was the general of the Vanga-king, stationed to becalm the border. Seated at the foot of a banyan-tree over-seeing the work, he saw them and questioned them. They replied "We are forest-dwellers." The general had clothes given to them. They turned splendid. He had rice given to them on leaves. By their merit, the leaves turned into golden vessels.

Amazed by this, the lord of the army asked them, "Who really are you?" The princess apprised him of her family and clan. The general took his uncle's daughter, went to the city of Vanga and lived with her.

* * *

The lion returning to the cave in haste did not see the three people. Afflicted by grief over the son, he neither ate nor drank. Searching for the children, he went to the border-villages. Every village he went to, the dwellers deserted. The inhabitants on the border went to the king and informed him, "A lion ravages your country. Prevent it, Your Majesty." Finding no one to stop him, the king had a thousand (gold coins) on the back of an elephant carried about the city proclaiming, "Let him who kills the lion take it." Likewise the king did with two and three thousand. Twice the mother restrained Sīhabāhu. The third time, without asking the mother, he took three thousand to kill his own father.

They presented the youth to the king and the king told him, "If the lion is captured by you, I give you that very land." Sīhabāhu went to the door of the cave, saw the lion from far as he was approaching with love toward his son and shot an arrow to kill him. The arrow struck the lion's forehead but, rebounded on account of his compassionate thought and fell on the ground at the feet of the youth. Up to

the third it was so. Then the king of beasts became enraged. The arrow which was then shot struck him and pierced the body.

Taking the lion's head with the mane, he went to his city. Seven days had then elapsed from the death of the king of the Vangas. As the king had no son, all the ministers rejoiced over Sīhabāhu's deed and, hearing that he was the king's grandson and also recognizing his mother, assembled and unanimously told him, "May you be the king." He accepted the kingdom and handed it over to the mother's husband. Taking Sīhasıvalī with him, Sīhabāhu went to his own native land. There he established a city. It was called Sīhapura. In the forest over a hundred *yojanas* he founded villages.

* * *

In that city in Lāḷa-country, the king, Sīhabāhu reigned, having made Sīhasīvalī his chief consort. As time passed, the chief consort bore twin sons sixteen times. The eldest was, by name, Vijaya. The second was named Sumitta. In all there were thirty-two sons. In due course, the king anointed Vijaya the sub-king.

Vijaya was of evil conduct. So were his followers. They committed many intolerable cries of violence. Being enraged, the people informed the king of this fact. The king assembled them and appeased them. He also advised the son well. For the second and the third time, everything recurred in the same way. The angered people said "Kill your son."

Then did the king cause Vijaya and his followers—seven hundred men—to be shaved over half the head, put on a ship and banished out to the ocean. The same was done to their wives and children. Separately banished, the men, the women and the children landed separately in an island each and lived there.

> The island, where the children landed, was known as Naggadīpa and the island where the wives landed, as Mahilādīpa.

Vijaya landed at the port of Suppāraka. Frightened by the violence of his followers, he embarked again.

The valiant Prince named Vijaya landed in the region of Tambapaṇṇi in Lankā on the day the Tathāgata lay down between the twin sāla-trees to pass away.

The Sixth Chapter called "The Coming of Vijaya" in the *Mahāvaṃsa* compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER VII

THE CONSECRATION OF VIJAYA

The *guide of the world,* having accomplished the good of the whole world, attained the supreme moment of bliss and was lying on his death-bed. *The great sage,* the noblest among speakers, told Sakka, who was standing by him there, in the vast assembly of deities, "King Sīhabāhu's son, Vijaya, from Lāḷa-country has reached Lankā, together with seven hundred followers. Lord of gods, my Faith will be established in Lankā. Therefore, protect him along with his followers and also Lankā diligently."

The lord of the gods heard the word of the *Tathāgata* and, with respect, entrusted the protection of Lankā to god Uppalavaṇṇa. As soon as he was commanded by Sakka, he came to Lankā speedily. In the guise of a wandering ascetic, he sat at the foot of a tree. All led by Vijaya approached him and asked, "Sir, what island is this?" "The island of Lañka," he answered, "There are no human beings here. Here, there will be no danger to you." Saying this, he sprinkled them with water from his water-pot, tied a thread on their hands and went away through the air.

* * *

A yakkhiṇī servant appeared in the form of a bitch. Even though forbidden by the prince, one person followed her, saying, "There are dogs where villages exist." Her mistress, a yakkhiṇī named Kuveṇī sat at the foot of a tree spinning like a woman-hermit.

He saw a pond and the woman-hermit, who was seated. He bathed himself and drank there and, taking lotus-stalks and water in lotus-leaves, set out. She told him, "Stop. You are my prey." The man stopped as though he was bound. By the power of

the protective thread, she was not able to devour him. Even though the yakkhiṇī begged for that thread, the man did not give it to her. Seizing him, who was shouting, the yakkhiṇī hurled him into a chasm. In this manner, she hurled the seven hundred one by one.

When all were not returning, Vijaya suspected danger. Armed with the five weapons he went and saw the pond. Not seeing foot-steps coming out of it and seeing that very woman-hermit, he thought, "Certainly, my followers have been captured by her." He asked, "Lady, have you not seen my followers?" She replied, "Prince, of what use are your followers? Bathe and drink." He concluded, "In as much as she knows my rank, she is a yakkhiṇī." Announcing his name, he drew his bow and approached her.

He caught the yakkhiṇī by the neck with a noose made of an iron arrow. Seizing her by her hair with his left hand, he raised the sword with his right and said, "Slave, give me my followers. I shall kill you." Frightened, the yakkhiṇī, begged for her life, "Lord, spare my life. I shall give you a kingdom and I shall do for you a woman's service and anything else you wish."

So that he may not be betrayed, he made the yakkhiṇī to swear an oath. Even as he said, "Bring back soon my followers," she produced them. Being told, "They are hungry," she showed many different things such as rice, which were in the ships of merchants who had been devoured. The followers prepared rice and curries, served the prince and, all of them also, ate.

The yakkhiṇī partook of the first portion of the food, given by Vijaya, and, being pleased, assumed the beautiful form of a sixteen-year old. Adorned in all ornaments, she approached the prince. At the foot of a tree, she made a splendid bed, encircled by a curtain and decked with a canopy. Seeing this, the prince, looking forward to future benefit, cohabited

with her and slept on the bed blissfully. All his followers slept surrounding the curtain.

* * *

At night, he heard music and the sound of singing and asked the yakkhiṇī who was sleeping with him, "What is this noise?" Thinking, "I should bestow kingship on my lord. All the yakkhas should be killed as they would kill me on account of enabling human beings to settle," the yakkhiṇī told the prince, "Lord, Here is this yakkha-city called Sirīsavatthu. To the yakkha-chief there, a princess living in Lankā-nagara has been brought. Her mother, too, has come. There, the enormous marriage feast lasts seven days. That's the sound there for the gathering is great. Slay the yakkhas this very day. It will not be possible after this." He asked, "How shall I kill them who are invisible?"

"I shall make a noise there and, by that signal, you strike. By my power, the weapon will fall on them." Hearing this, he complied and destroyed all the yakkhas. Being victorious, he, himself, donned the regalia of the king of the yakkhas and adorned each of his followers with the rest of the ornaments.

* * *

Having passed a few days there, Vijaya came to Tambapaṇṇi. He built the city of Tambapaṇṇi and lived with the yakkhiṇī, surrounded by his ministers.

> Those led by Vijaya, disembarked from the ships and, being weary, sat with their hands pressed on the ground. Besmeared by the dust of the red earth, their hands became copper-coloured. Hence that region and also the island was known as Tambapaṇṇi.[1]

---

1. Pāli Tambapaṇṇi = Sanskrit Tāmraparṇi = Greek Taprobane. Asoka in his inscriptions and the Greek geographer Ptolemy refer to Sri Lanka by these names.

Since the king Sīhabāhu captured the lion, he was called king *Sīhaḷa*. Hence all those who are connected with him are also Sīhaḷa.

Here and there, his ministers founded villages: Anurādhagāma by him of that name near Kadamba river. The chaplain Upatissa established Upatissagāma, to the north of Anurādhagāma on the bank of Gambhīra river. Three other ministers also founded, each for himself, Ujjeni, Uruvela and Vijita-nagara.

* * *

Having founded settlements, all the ministers came together and told the prince, "Lord, be consecrated in kingship." Being thus told, the prince did not wish to be anointed without the consecration as consort a kṣatriya maiden.

The ministers, who were eager in consecrating their lord, overcame their fears as regards difficulties. Devoted to their lord, they sent messengers, with many valuable gifts like gems and pearls, to the city of southern Madhurā seeking the daughter of the king of the Paṇḍus[2] for the lord and also other' daughters for ministers and followers.

The messengers went by ship to the city of Madhurā quickly and presented to the king the gifts and the letter. Then the king consulted the ministers and, being desirous of sending his own daughter, obtained about a hundred maidens, the daughters of ministers and others. Then he proclaimed by beat of drum, "Let the men here who wish their daughters to go to Lankā provide them with twice the clothing and place them at the doors of their homes. By this sign, we shall take them."

Having compensated the families, he gave a letter and sent Vijaya, the conqueror of enemies, his daughter, adorned in all ornaments and with personal property, as well as all other

2. Pali Paṇḍu = Sanskrit Paṇḍya = Greak Pandion.
Southern Madhurās is identified with modern Madurai of Tamil Nadu in South India. Greek and Latin writers (Megasthenes, Arrian and Pliny) record Pandyas of the South as migrants from Mathura of Uttar Pradesh in North India. Hence perhaps the *Mahāvaṃsa* nomenclature of Pāṇḍyans' Madhurā as Southern Madhurā.

maidens, duly cared for as suitable. With them were sent elephants, horses and chariots, befitting a king, and craftsmen and a thousand families of the eighteen guilds. All these people disembarked from ships at Mahātittha.

By what alone, is this port called *Mahātittha* (the great port).

* * *

Vijaya had a son and a daughter by the yakkhiṇī He heard of the coming of the princess and told the yakkhiṇī, "Dear one, now go away leaving the two children. Human beings are always frightened of non-human beings." Hearing this she was terrified on account of the danger from the yakkhas. He told the yakkhiṇī, "Do not worry. I shall give you an offering with a thousand."

She begged of him again and again. She took both children and went to Lankāpura, even though she was apprehensive on account of her wrong-doing. She got the children to be seated outside and entered the city alone. The yakkhiṇī of the city recognized her and were agitated under the impression that she was a spy. One of them, who was violent, sent the yakkhiṇī to her death by a single blow with his hand.

Her maternal uncle, a yakkha, went out of the city, saw the children and asked them, "Whose children are you?" Hearing that they were Kuveṇī's, he said, "Your mother has been killed. Seeing you, they might kill you. Flee quickly."

They fled from there speedily and went to the mountain of Sumana. When grown up the elder lived with the younger and brought up sons and daughters. With the kings approval they lived in Malaya itself.

This is the origin of the Pulindas.

* * *

The envoys of the king of the Paṇḍus delivered to Prince Vijaya

the gifts as well as the princess and others. Vijaya offered hospitality and honours to the envoys and gave the maidens to the ministers and the people, as appropriate.

All the ministers assembled and, according to custom anointed Vijaya in kingship and held a great festival. Then the king Vijaya, with great honour, anointed the daughter of the king of the Paṇḍus as the chief consort. He bestowed wealth on his ministers. Every year, he presented to his wife's father chanks and pearls worth twice a hundred thousand.

Vijaya, the lord of men, abandoned his former evil way of life and reigned, indeed, thirty-eight years in the city of Tambapaṇṇi, ruling, in peace and righteousness, all Lankā.

The Seventh Chapter called "The Consecration of Vijaya" in the *Mahāvaṃsa compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.*

CHAPTER VIII

THE CONSECRATION OF PAṆḌUVĀSUDEVA

The great king Vijaya, being in his last year, thought thus, "I am old and I have no son. The country which I colonized with difficulty might perish at my death. I should send for my brother Sumitta to assume kingship." Then he consulted the ministers and sent a letter there. Before long after sending the letter, Vijaya passed away.

When he died, the ministers, awaiting the arrival of kṣatriya, resided in Upatissagāma and administered the kingdom. From the death of the king Vijaya to the arrival of the kṣatriya, the island of a Lankā was kingless for one year.

* * *

In that Sīhapura, at the death of its king Sīhabāhu, his son Sumitta became king. He had three sons by the daughter of the king of Maddas. The envoys went to Sīhapura and gave the letter to the king. Having heard the letter, the king summoned his three sons: "Dear ones, I am old. One of you must go to beautiful Lankā of many virtues, which is owned by my brother. There, after him, rule that fair kingdom." The youngest prince Paṇḍuvāsudeva thought, "I will go" and assured himself of the success of the journey. Approved by his father, he took with him thirty-two sons of ministers and boarded a ship in the guise of recluses. They landed at the estuary of the Mahākandara river. The people saw the recluses and tended them well.

They inquired about the city and approaching it gradually, arrived there under the protection of deities. A minister there, charged by other ministers, had asked a soothsayer about the arrival of the Kṣatriya ; he had prophesied, "On the seventh day itself, the kṣatriya will come. One born of his dynasty will establish the Faith of the Buddha." Seeing the recluses who arrived there exactly on the seventh day, the ministers inquired and recognized them. They bestowed the sovereignty over Lankā on Pāṇḍuvāsudeva. On account of the lack of a consort, he was not yet consecrated.

* * *

The son of Sākya Amitodana was Sākya Paṇḍu. He knew of the imminent destruction of the Sākyas[1] and, taking with him his people, went in disguise to the further bank of the Gangā. There he found a city and reigned. He had seven sons. The youngest, a daughter, was named Bhaddakaccānā. She was fair of form like a woman made of gold and was eagerly wooed. For her sake, seven kings sent precious presents to the king. Being frightened of the kings and, furthermore, knowing of the auspicious journey resulting in her consecration, he placed his daughter speedily upon a ship with thirty-two women and launched it on the Ganges saying, "Whoever can, let him take my daughter." They could not take her as the ship sailed fast.

On the second day itself, they arrived in the haven of Goṇgāmaka. All of them landed there in the guise of nuns. They inquired about the city and, approaching it gradually arrived there under the protection of deities. The minister who had heard the prophesy of the soothsayer, saw them, inquired and recognized them. He brought them to the king. The ministers of clear intellect consecrated Paṇḍuvāsudeva, whose every wish was thus fulfilled.

The king consecrated fair Bhaddakaccānā of supreme beauty as his chief consort, gave those who came with her to those who came with him and lived happily.

The Eighth Chapter called "The Consecration of Paṇḍuvāsudeva" in the *Mahāvaṃsa* compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

1. The reference is to the massacre of the Sākya clan by Viḍūḍabha of the neighbouring kingdom of Kosala.

CHAPTER IX

THE CONSECRATION OF ABHAYA

The queen bore ten sons and a daughter. The eldest of all was Abhaya and the youngest (the daughter) was named Cittā. Brahmans well versed in sacred texts saw her and foretold, "For the sake of sovereignty, her son will kill his uncles." When the brothers resolved, "We shall kill the youngest," Abhaya restrained them. In due time, they lodged her in a turret. They constructed the entrance to it through the bed-room of the king. Inside, they placed her and a maid-servant and outside a hundred men.

Since, by her beauty, she drove men mad by the mere sight, her name received an epithet as "Ummāda-Cittā (Cittā the Maddener).

Having heard of the arrival of queen Bhaddakaccānā in Lankā, the sons of Sākya Amitodana, too, except one, urged by their mother, came here. Having come, they saw Paṇḍuvāsudeva, the king of Lankā. They also saw their youngest sister and lamented with her. Being hospitably treated by the king, they, with the king's approval, wandered about in the island of Lankā and settled down as it pleased them.

The place where Rāma settled is called Rāmagoṇa and likewise by their names the settlements of Uruvela and Anurādha. The settlements of Vijita, Dīghāyu and Rohaṇa, too are called Vijitagāma, Dīghāya and Rohaṇa.

Anurādha had a tank built. To the south of it, he had a palace constructed and lived there.

* * *

The great king Paṇḍuvāsa anointed, in due time, his eldest son Abhaya as sub-king.

Dīghagāmani,the son of prince Dīghāyu,heard of Ummāda-

Cittā. Driven by the longing for her, he went to Upatissagāma and met the lord of men. The king appointed him together with the sub-king to service at the royal court.

She saw Gāmaṇi coming and standing at a place opposite the bull's eye window. Cittā, whose mind was infatuated, asked "Who is he?" Having heard, "The son of your uncle," she entrusted the matter to the maid-servant. In league with her, he fastened a hook-ladder to the bull's eye window in the night, climbed up, broke the window and entered through it. He lived with her and left only at dawn. Thus he lived there constantly, undetected due to the absence of any breach.

By him, she conceived. When pregnancey advanced, the maid-servant informed Cittā's mother. She questioned the daughter and informed the king. Having consulted the sons, he said, "He too must be cared for by us. Let us give her to him."

They gave her to him saying, "If it is a son, we shall kill him." When the time of delivery came, she went to the lying-in-chamber.

> The princess suspected the herdsman Citta and the slave Kālavela, attendants of Gāmaṇi, to be accomplices in this affair and, when they did not acknowledge the fact, killed them. Reborn as *yakkhas* they protected the prince in the womb.

Cittā had her attendant to identify another woman who was close to her delivery. Cittā bore a son and that woman a daughter. Cittā gave her a thousand and made her take away Citta's own son. That daughter, she had her laid beside her.

The king's sons heard, "a daughter was born" and were pleased. Both the mother and the maternal grandmother joined the names of the maternal grandfather and the eldest uncle and named the prince Paṇḍukābhaya. Paṇḍuvāsudeva, the ruler of Lankā, reigned for thirty years. At the time Paṇḍukābhaya was born, he died.

When the lord of men died, all his sons assembled and held a stately consecration for their brother Abhaya, the giver of sanctuary.

The Ninth Chapter called "The Consecration of Abhaya" in the *Mahāvaṃsa* compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER X

THE CONSECRATION OF PAṆḌUKĀBHAYA

Commanded by Ummādacittā, the maid-servant took the child, put him in a basket and went to Dvāramaṇḍalaka.

> The princes, who had gone hunting to Tumbara forest, saw the maid-servant and asked her, "Where do you go? What is this?" She said, "I go to Dvāramaṇḍala. This is a sweet cake for my daughter." The princes told her, "Take it out." At that moment itself, Citta and Kālavela, who had come out for his protection, manifested for them a large boar. The princes pursued it. She took the child and went to Dvāramaṇḍala. She handed over, in secrecy, the baby and the thousand to the assigned person. That very day his wife bore him a son. Announcing, "My wife has borne twin sons," he reared him.

* * *

He was already seven years old. His uncles recognized him and arranged to kill the children playing in the pond. He used to dive and, through a cavity hidden by the water, enter a hollow tree that stood in the water. Staying there long, the prince would leave it in the same way and approach the other children. Even though questioned, he would mislead them with evasive words.

On the day the men came here, the prince wore his clothes, dived into the water and stayed in the hollow. They counted the garments, killed the other boys, went away and reported, "All boys were killed." When they were gone, he went to the house of the assigned person. Living there, comforted by him, he became twelve years old.

* * *

Hearing again that the prince was living, his uncles ordered all the herdsmen there to be killed. On that day, the herdsmen captured an animal and sent the prince to the village to fetch fire. He went home and sent the assigned person himself, saying "My feet ache. Take fire to the herdsmen. Thus you will also eat some

roast meat." Listening to these words, he took fire to the herdsmen. At that moment, the men who had been sent surrounded them, killed all the herdsmen and informed the uncles.

* * *

Thereafter, the uncles discovered him at the age of sixteen. His mother gave a thousand (*kahāpaṇas*) and made arrangements for his safety. The assigned person told him all his mother's message, gave him a slave and a thousand (*kahāpaṇas*) and sent him to Paṇḍula. The Brahman Paṇḍula, rich and well-versed in the *Vedas*, lived in the southern region in Paṇḍulagāma. The prince went there and saw the Brahman Paṇḍula. He asked, "Dear one, are you Paṇḍukābhaya?" When affirmed, he offered him hospitality and said, "Dear one, you will become king and reign exactly for seventy years. Learn the art." He taught him the art. Both by him and the Brahman's son Canda, the art was learnt quickly.

The Brahman Paṇḍula gave him a hundred thousand for the purpose of enrolling soldiers. When five hundred soldiers were enrolled by the prince, the Brahman said, "Make her at whose touch leaves turn to gold your queen and my son your chaplain." He gave him money and sent him along with soldiers. The virtuous prince departed from there and, at the township of Paṇa near the Kāsa-mountain, proclaimed his name and enlisted seven hundred men with provisions for all. Thence, followed by one thousand two hundred men, he went to the mountain called Girikaṇḍa.

* * *

Paṇḍukābhaya's uncle named Girikaṇḍasiva was enjoying this district which Paṇḍuvāsudeva had gave him. Then the kṣatriya was getting a field measuring a hundred thousand *karīsas* reaped. His beautiful daugher, the kṣatriya maiden, was named Pāli. She had mounted a splendid vehicle and, with a large retinue, was bringing rice for her father and the reapers.

The prince's men saw her there and informed him of the princess. The prince, coming in haste, drove his own vehicle close to her, dividing her retinue into two. Followed by his men, he asked her, "Where do you go?" When everything was told by her, the kṣatriya, whose mind was infatuated towards her asked for himself a share of rice. The kṣatriya maiden descended from the vehicle and, at the foot of a banyan tree, gave the prince rice in a

golden bowl. To feed the rest of the people, she took banyan leaves. At that moment, those leaves turned into golden vessels. Seeing them, the prince recalled the statement of the Brahman and rejoiced, "I have found the maiden deserving to be my queen." She fed all of them; but the food did not diminish. It looked as if only one portion was taken.

Thus, from that time onwards, the delicate princess, possessed of virtuous qualities, was known as Suvaṇṇa-pāli (=Golden Pāli).

The kṣatriya took the princess, mounted the vehicle and, surrounded by a great army, proceeded without anxiety. Hearing it, her father despatched all his men. They went, fought and, being threatened by others, returned.

The village which was established there was named Kalahanagara (=the Town of the Fight).

* * *

Her five brothers heard this and gave battle. Paṇḍula's son, Canda, himself, killed all of them.

There, the battle-ground was known as Lohitavāhakhaṇḍa (= the Field of the Stream of Blood).

Thence, with the great army, Paṇḍukābhaya went to the Doḷa-mountain on the further bank of the Gangā. Here he sojourned for four years. The uncles heard about it and they, with the exception of the king,(i.e.Abhaya) came to fight. They fortified a camp near the Dhūmarakkha-mountain and fought with the nephew. The nephew, however, pursued the uncles to this side of the river. Having made them retreat, he stopped. He lived in their camp for two years. They went to Upatissagāma and apprised the king of the matter.

The king Abhaya sent the prince a letter in secrecy, "You may enjoy the further bank of Gangā. Do not come from there to this side." Hearing this, the nine princes were angry with the king and said, "you alone have been helpful to him for a long time. Now

you give him land. So we shall kill you." He yielded sovereignty to them. With one accord, they appointed their brother named Tissa to be regent. This king Abhaya, the giver of sancturary, reigned there in Upatissagāma twenty years.

A yakkhiṇī named Cetiyā. Living at the Tumbariyangaṇa, pond on the Dhūmarakkha mountain, used to wander about in the form of a mare. Someone saw her who was beautiful with a white body and red feet and informed the prince, "There is a mare of such an appearance." The prince took a rein and went to capture her. She saw him approaching from behind and, being frightened by his majesty, fled without rendering herself invisible. He pursued her as she fled. Running, she circled the pond seven times. She plunged into the great Gangā. Getting out from it, she ran round the Dhūmarakkha-mountain seven times. Then she circled the pond thrice. Again, she plunged into the Gangā near Kacchakatittha-ford, but there he caught her by the tail and also grasped a palm-leaf floating in water. By his merit that palm-leaf became a mighty sword. He lifted the sword saying, "I will kill you." She told him, "Lord, I will conquer the kingdom and give it to you. Do not kill me." He caught her by the neck, pierced her nose with the point of the sword and bound her by the nose. She came under his control. He, of mighty power, mounted her and went to Dhūmarakkha.

* * *

There on the Dhūmarakkha-mountain, he dwelt four years. Leaving it with his army, he came to the Ariṭṭha-mountain. He sojourned there seven years biding his time for battle.

Except two uncles, his other eight uncles approached the Ariṭṭha-mountain in battle array, fortified a camp at Negaraka, entrusted it to a commander and surrounded the Ariṭṭha-mountain on all sides. He consulted the yakkhiṇī. In accordance with her fitting words, the prince gave a body of troops royal regalia and weapons as presents and sent it in front with the message, "Take all these. I seek your forgivance." But when they were lulled into

confidence, thinking, "We shall take him when he enters," he mounted the yakkha-mare and, followed by a great army, entered battle. The yakkhiṇī made a great noise. The army which was both in and out raised a mighty battle-cry. The prince's men massacred many men of the enemy army and also the eight uncles and raised a heap of heads. The commander escaped and fled into a thicket.

By that, this thicket is called Senāpati-gumbaka (The General's grove).

The prince saw the heap of heads with those of the uncles on top and said "It is like a heap of gourds."

Therefore they call it Lābugāmaka (Village of Gourds).

* * *

Thus having won the war, Paṇḍukābhaya went from there to the abode of grand-uncle Anurādha. The grand-uncle gave his own palace to the prince and made a residence for himself elsewhere. The latter lived in his palace.

He had a soothsayer as well as a site-specialist consulted and had an excellent city constructed in that very village.

As Anurādha lived there and as it was founded under the constellation Anurādha, they called it Anurādhapura.

He sent for his uncles' parasol and, having had it washed in the natural pond here, made it to be raised. With water from the same pond, Paṇḍukābhaya anointed himself and consecrated queen Suvaṇṇapāli as his chief consort.

* * *

He duly gave young Canda the office of chaplain and other followers appointments according to suitability. On account of the help given to his mother and to himself ; he did not kill the eldest uncle, King Abhaya. To him, Paṇḍukābhaya gave night-kingship, Abhaya also became the Guardian of the City. From that time onwards there were Guardians of the City. Without killing his father-in-law, Girikaṇḍasiva, Paṇḍukābhaya gave this uncle the

district of Girikaṇḍa itself. He had the pond deepened and abundantly filled with water.

> As water was taken from it on victory,
> they called it Jayavāpi.

He settled the yakkha, Kālavela, to the east of the city and the yakkha, Cittarāja, below the Abhaya-tank. The maid-servant, who had helped him in the past and who was reborn a yakkhiṇī. the grateful king settled at the southern gate of the city. Within the royal precincts was housed the mare-faced yakkhiṇī. Annually, he made offerings to them and to others, but at the time of festivals, seated with Cittaraja on equal seats, the king, engaged in pleasurable amusement, enjoyed himself having divine and human dances performed.

He had the four suburbs and the Abhaya-tank constructed. He located the following on the side of the western gate: the public cemetery, the place of execution, "The Western Queen", the banyan tree of Vessavaṇa, the palm tree of the deity of maladies, the general quarter of the Yonas[1] and the great house of sacrifice. He engaged five hundred caṇḍāla men as city-scavengers, two hundred as sewage-cleaners, one hundred and fifty as removers of corpses, and as many caṇḍālas as cemetry-keepers. Their village was established to the north-west of the cemetery. They performed their assigned duties regularly.

To the north-east of the caṇḍāla village he had a cemetery named the Lower Cemetery made for the caṇḍalās. To the north of the cemetery, between it and the Pāsāṇa-mountain, was then built a row of houses for the huntsmen.

To the north of that, upto the Gāmani-tank, was constructed a hermitage for various ascetics. Also to the east of that cemetery, the king built a house for the Nigaṇtha[2] Jotiya. In that quarter itself dwelt the Nigaṇṭha named Giri and many recluses of different sects. There itself the king had a shrine built for the Nigaṇṭha Kumbhaṇḍa. It was so named. To its western side and to the east of the row of huntsmen, he settled there five hundred

1. Pāli Yona = Sanskrit Yavana = Ionian Greek.
2. Nigaṇṭha = an adherent to Jainism. In Pāli literature Jina Mahāvira is referred to as Nigaṇṭha (bondless) Nātaputta.

heretical[3] families. On the further side of Jotiya's house but on the side of Gāmaṇi-tank, he, likewise had a monastery established for wandering ascetics, a house for Ājivikas and also a site for Brahmans. In different places he also had lying-in homes and hospitals built.

* * *

Ten years from consecration, Paṇḍukābhaya, the king of Lankā, established the village-boundaries over the whole island of Lankā. The king, who had *yakkhas* and *bhūtas* for friends, enjoyed his fortune together with Kālavela and Citta, who were visible.

* * *

Between Abhaya and the king Paṇḍukābhaya there were seventeen years without a king.

* * *

The great King Paṇḍukābhaya, the intelligent, assumed kingship at the age of thirty-seven years and reigned full seventy years here in beautiful and prosperous Anurādhapura.

The Tenth Chapter called "The Consecration of Paṇḍukābhaya" in the *Mahāvaṃsa* compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

3. "Heritical" from the point of view of the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* who was a Buddhist monk, means, therefore "Non-Buddhist."

THE CONSECRATION OF DEVĀNAṂPIYATISSA

After his death, his son, known as Muṭasiva—the son of Suvaṇṇapālī—succeeded him to sovereignty which was free of complications. The king laid out the splendid Mahāmeghavana (Great Cloud Garden), replete with fruit-trees and flowering trees and endowed with qualities that befit its name.

> On the day the site for the garden was acquired, an unseasonal rain-cloud poured forth rain. By that, the garden became Mahāmeghavana (Great Cloud Garden).

The king Muṭasiva reigned sixty years at splendid Anurādhapura, the noble face of the land of Lankā. He had ten sons, who were eager on their mutual welfare, and two daughters who were pleasant and worthy of their family. The second son, who was called Devānaṃpiyatissa excelled all his brothers in merit and wisdom.

* * *

At the death of the father, Devānaṃpiyatissa became king. With his consecration, many wonders occurred.

> In the whole island of Lankā, treasures and precious stones which were buried deep rose to the surface of the earth. Gems which were in ships wrecked near the island of Laṇkā and also those which had arisen there ascended to the land. At the foot of the Chāta-mountain sprang three bamboo-stems, which in girth were similar to a waggon-pole. One of them, a "creeper-stem" shone like silver. On it were seen delightful creepers gleaming with a golden hue. One was a "flower-stem". On it were various full-blown flowers of different colours. One was a "bird-stem". On it would be seen as if alive, many birds and animals—diverse and of different colours. The eight kinds of pearls—namely, horse,

elephant, waggon, myrobalan, bracelet, ring, *kakudha*-fruit and natural pearls—rose from the sea and stood on the shore like a *bund*. All this happened on account of the merits of Devānampiyatissa. Those many precious stones such as sapphire, cat's eye and ruby, those pearls and those bamboo-stems, they brought to the king, all in the same week.

Delighted on seeing them, the king thought, "My friend, Asoka the Righteous and none else deserves these priceless treasures. I shall give them to him. Those two kings, Devānampiyatissa and Asoka the Righteous had been unseen friends for a long time.

* * *

The king then appointed these four persons as envoys—namely, nephew Mahāriṭṭha, the chief minister, a brahman, a minister and a treasurer, entrusted the following priceless treasures to them and sent them, attended by a multitude of soldiers—the three kinds of precious stones, the three waggon-poles, a conch-shell winding to the right and the eight kinds of pearls.

Embarking at Jambukola, they arrived comfortably in the port in seven days and thence in a week they reached Pāṭaliputta. They gave those presents to Asoka the Righteous. Seeing them he was pleased and thought, "Here I have no such treasures." Being delighted, the king bestowed on Ariṭṭha the rank of a commander of the army, on the Brahman the chaplainship, on that minister the rank of Daṇḍanāyaka and on the treasurer the position of a guild-chief.

He gave them abundant provisions and lodgings. He consulted the ministers and looked for gifts in return. The lord of men, in due time, gave as gifts to his friend requisites for consecration, specially the accessories; a *chowrie,* a diadem, a sword, a parasol, sandals, a turban, ear-ornaments, a chain, a pitcher, yellow sandal-wood, a set of garments which needed no washing, a costly handkerchief, unguent brought by Nāgas, dawn-coloured earth, water from the Anotatta-lake Gangā water a conch shell winding to the auspicious direction, cosmetic powder, a maiden, golden vessels and objects, a costly litter, yellow and emblic myrobalan, precious ambrosial medicines, and six thousand waggon-loads of rice brought by parrots.

He sent through the envoys this gift of the true Dhamma: "I have taken refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha. I have declared myself a lay-disciple of the Faith of the Sākya son. O best of men, you, make your mind take delight in these supreme treasures and, with faith, take refuge in them."

He honoured the ministers of his friend and despatched them, saying, "Consecrate my friend again." The ministers had stayed five months and had been excessively cared for. The envoys left on the first day of the bright half of the month of Vesākha (April-May). They embarked at Tāmlitti and disembarked at Jambukola. Arriving here on the twelfth day, they saw the king.

* * *

The envoys handed the gifts to the lord of Lankā. He extended to them much hospitality and honour. These ministers, loyal to their master, had consecrated the king of Lankā on the first day of the moon in the month of Maggasira (November - December). Intent on the welfare of their master, they conveyed the message of Asoka the Righteous and, for the second time, consecrated him who rejoiced in the welfare and happiness of Lankā.

Thus on the full-moon day of Vesākha, he in whose name was implied the word "Devānampiya"—the giver of happiness to his people—was consecrated in Lankā where there was grand festivity everywhere.

The Eleventh Chapter called "The Consecration of Devānampiyatissa" in the *Mahāvamsa,* compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XII

THE CONVERSION OF DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

The Thera Moggaliputta, the illuminator of the Faith of the *conqueror*, brought the recitation to a close. Looking into the future, he anticipated the establishment of the Faith in neighbouring countries and, in the month of Kattika, (October - November) sent different monks to different places. He sent:

- the Thera Majjhantika to Kashmir and Gandhāra;
- the Thera Mahādeva to Mahisamaṇḍala;
- the Thera named Rakkhita to Vanavāsa;
- the Yona named Dhammarākkhita to Aparantaka;
- the Thera named Mahādhammarakkhita to Mahāraṭṭha;
- the Thera Maharakkhita to the Yona world;
- the Thera Majjhima to the Himālaya region; and
- the two Soṇa and Uttara to Suvaṇṇabhūmi.

He sent the five *theras*—the great Thera Mahinda and his disciples the Thera Iṭṭhiya, Uttiya, Sambala and Bhaddasāla—saying, "You found in the lovely island of Lankā the lovely Faith of the conqueror."

* * *

At that time, in Kashmir and Gandhāra, the nāga-king of great miraculous power, Aravāḷa, was causing the rain called 'hail' to pour down on ripe crops and, being cruel, was having everything washed into the sea. The Thera Majjhantika went there quickly by air and performed such acts as walking on the surface of the water of the Aravāḷa-lake. The nāgas saw this and, being enraged, informed the king about it.

The Nāga-king, too, being enraged, did various terifying acts: great winds blew; a cloud rained and thundered; here and there thunder-bolts crashed and lightening flashed;trees and peaks of mountains were hurled down. Nāgas in grisly form caused

terror in all directions and the nāga-king himself spat smoke and fire and uttered abuses in many ways.

The *thera,* through miraculous power, subdued all that terror. Demonstrating his supreme power, he told the nāga-king, "Even if the whole world including *devas* would come and terrify me, there is none here who would succeed in causing fear and trepidation; Great nāga, even if you were to raise and hurl on me the whole earth together with oceans and mountains you would not be able to generate fear and trepidation in me. On the other hand, O nāga-king, that would be to your own destruction."

To him who became humbled on hearing these words, *thera* preached the Dhamma. Then the nāga-king was established in refuges and precepts. Likewise, eighty-four thousand nāgas and many Gandhabbas, Yakkhas and Kumbhaṇḍakas of the Himālayas. The yakkha named Paṇḍaka, too, along with Yakkhiṇī Hāritā and five hundred sons attained the First Fruit.

Being admonished as follows, they acted accordingly; "Henceforth do not allow your anger to arise as before. Do not destroy the crops, as living beings are desirous of happiness. Develop loving kindness towards beings, thinking 'may human beings live in happiness.'"

Then the nāga-king made the *thera* sit on a gemset throne and stood nearby fanning him. Then the people, residing in Kashmir and Gandhāra, who came to offer homage to the Nāga-king, acknowledged the *thera* as possessing miraculous power, worshipped the *thera* and sat on a side. He expounded to them the Dhamma, Āsīvisūpama (Simile of The Serpent).[1]

1. The Sri Lankan historical tradition has recorded each of the discourses (*suttas*) of the Buddhist Canon, which the missionaries going to different countries after the Third Council utilized in their first sermons.

The conversion of eighty thousand persons took place and a hundred thousand persons obtained ordination from the *thera. Henceforth—even now*[2]*—Kashmir and Gandhāra have shone with yellow robes and been devoted to the three treasures.*[3]

* * *

The Thera Mahādeva went to the Mahisamaṇḍala country and, in the midst of the people, preached the Devadūta-Suttanta. Forty thousand perfected the vision of the Dhamma and forty thousand obtained ordination from him.

* * *

The Thera Rakkhita went to Vanavāsa and, floating in the air in the midst of the people, expounded the Anamatagga-saṃyutta. The conversion of sixty thousand persons took place and about thirty-seven thousand obtained ordination from him. He founded five hundred monasteries in that country. Thus did the Thera establish the Faith of the *conqueror* there.

* * *

The Thera Dhammarakkhita the Yona went to Aparantaka and, in the midst of the people, preached the Aggikkandhopama-Sutta. There, the knower of Dhamma and its opposite[4] made thirty-seven thousand beings, who had assembled, imbibe the nectar of the Dhamma. A thousand men and yet more women renounced from the kṣatriya families alone and obtained ordination.

* * *

2. At the time of writing the *Mahāvaṃsa* (i.e.Sixth Century A.C.)
3. Three treasures = *Ratanattaya* = Three refuges = Tisaraṇa = Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha (The Buddha, the Doctrine and the Community of Monks and Nuns).
4. A typical Pāli idiom for describing the intellectual capability of a person. Occurs also as the "knower of opposites," "the knower of proper and improper places (acts, and so on)."

The seer, Thera Mahādhammarakkhita, went to Mahāraṭṭha and there related the Jātaka known as Mahānāradakassapa. Eighty-four thousand attained the Path and the Fruit. Thirteen thousand received ordination from him.

* * *

The seer, Thera Mahārakkhita, went to the Yona realm and, in the midst of the people, preached the Kālakārāma-Suttanta. One hundred and seventy thousand beings attained the Path and the Fruit. Ten thousand obtained ordination.

* * *

The seer Majjhima went to the Himālaya Region with four *theras* and expounded the Dhamacakkappavattana. Eighty crores of beings attained the Path and the Fruit. The five *theras* separately converted five countries. Pleased in the Faith of the *perfect Buddha,* a hundred thousand men received ordination from each of them.

* * *

The Thera Soṇa of great miraculous power went to Suvaṇṇabhūmi along with the Thera Uttara. There, at that time, whenever a child was born in the royal household, a fearsome female demon emerged from the sea, devoured the child and went back.

At that very moment, a boy was born in the royal household. The people saw the *theras* and, assuming them to be friends of the demons, came armed to kill them. The *theras,* having asked "What is this?" told them, "We are virtuous recluses. We are not friends of the female demon."

The female demon,, with her retinue, emerged, from the ocean. The people saw her and raised a great outcry. The *thera* created twice as many terrifying demons and surrounded the female demon and her retinue on all sides. Thinking, "This place has been captured by these," she fled away in fear.

The *thera* established the security of the country on all sides and, in that great gathering, preached the Brahmajāla-Sutta. Many people were established in refuges and precepts. The conversion of sixty-thousand took place. Three thousand five hundred sons of noble families received ordination and likewise one thousand five hundred daughters of noble families.

Henceforth when a son was born to the royal household there, the kings named them "Soṇuttara".

* * *

Emulating the renunciation of the supremely compassionate conqueror,*they renounced the immortal bliss which they had attained and worked for the welfare of the world in different places. Who should be heedless as regards the welfare of the world?"*

The Twelfth Chapter called "The Conversion of Different Countries" in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XIII

THE COMING OF MAHINDA

The great Thera Mahinda of lofty wisdom, being enjoined at that time by his master (i.e. Thera Moggaliputta-Tissa) and the Sangha, was considering the time to convert the island of Lanka and thought, "Old is the king Muṭasiva. Let his son become king."

He made up his mind to see his kinsfolk in the meantime. Having paid homage to his master and the Sangha, he consulted the king. Taking with him the four *theras* (Iṭṭhiya, Uttiya, Sambala and Bhaddasāla) and Sanghamittā's Sāmāṇera Sumana of great miraculous power, possessed of six supernormal knowledges, he went to Dakkiṇagiri to serve his kinsfolk. As he was moving about thus, six months passed.

* * *

Reaching in due course the city of Vedisagiri of his mother Devī, he saw the mother. Seeing her beloved son, Devī had him along with his following fed with what she had herself prepared and gifted to the *thera* the auspicious monastery Vedisagiri.

> *While enjoying the realm of Avanti, given to him by his father, the Prince Asoka, before going to Ujjeni sojourned in the city of Vedisa. There he met the noble maiden Devī by name, the daughter of a guild-chief. He lived with her and by that she conceived. At Ujjeni, she gave birth to the noble Prince Mahinda and two years later, to the daughter Sanghamittā.*

At that time, she was living in the city of Vedisa. Sojourning there, the *thera,* who knew the proper time, thought, "Let the great king Devānampiyatissa go through the great festival of consecration enjoined by my father. Let him also hear the virtues of the Three Treasures and know them from the envoy. Let him ascend the Missakā-mountain on the Uposatha-day of the month of Jeṭṭha (May-June). On that day itself, we shall go to the noble island of Lankā.

The great Indra approached the excellent great

Thera Mahinda and told him, "Go to convert Lankā. It has been foretold by the Buddha. We too shall be helpful to you there."

The son of a niece of Devī—Bhaṇḍuka by name—listened to the Dhamma, preached by the *thera* himself to Devī and attained the Fruit of the Non-Returner. He remained with the *thera*.

Having spent a month there, the *thera* of great miraculous power, on the Uposatha-day of the month of Jeṭṭha, rose to the air from that monastery with the four *theras*, Sumana and Bhaṇḍuka, who continued to be laymen so as to make it known that they were human beings. Coming here along with his following, he stood on the Silā-peak in he noble and lovely Ambatthala of the beautiful Missaka-mountain.

* * *

He, who was foretold by the *Buddha* in his death-bed, on account of his virtue, of converting Lankā for the benefit of Lankā, and who by his blessing to it was like a Buddha to Lankā, alighted there, extolled by the deities of Lankā.

The Thirteenth Chapter called "The Coming of Mahinda" in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ENTRY TO THE CITY

The king Devānampiyatissa declared a festival of water-sport for the inhabitants of the city and went out to enjoy hunting. Attended by forty-thousand, he ran on foot and reached the Missaka-mountain.

A deity of that mountain, desirous of showing him the *theras*, assumed the form of an elk browsing in the thicket. The king saw it. Thinking, "It is not proper to shoot it while it is inattentive," he made a noise with the bow-string. The elk fled toward the mountain. The king chased it and the stag in its flight went near the *theras*. When the *theras* were seen by the lord of men, it disappeared.

Thinking, "He will be over-frightened when many are seen," the *thera* manifested himself only. Seeing him, the lord of the earth stood terrified. The *thera* addressed him, "Come, Tissa." By the very word "Tissa", the king thought that he was a yakkha.

"Recluses we are, O great king, disciples of *the king of the Dhamma*. Out of compassion for you alone have we come here from Jambudīpa," the *thera* said. Hearing this the king's fear was dispelled. Remembering the friend's message and ascertaining that they were recluses, he laid the bow and arrow aside. He approached the sage and, exchanging greetings, sat down near him.

Then his men arrived and surrounded them. At that time, the great *thera* made his companions to appear. Seeing them, the king asked, "When did they come?" When the *thera* said, "With me", he asked again, "Are there other ascetics like them in Jambudīpa?" He replied, "Jambudīpa is gleaming with yellow robes. There, many disciples of the Buddha are Arahants, endowed with the threefold higher knowledge, miraculous power and divine ear and skilled in reading others' thoughts." The king asked, "How did you come?" When it was said, "Neither by land nor by water have we come", he understood that they had come through the air.

To test him, the great sage asked him a complex question. Whatever question he posed, the lord of the earth answered:

"Of what name is this tree, O king?"
"This tree is named 'mango'".
"Is there any other mango-tree beside this?"
"There are many mango-trees".
"Are there any trees other than this and other mango trees?"
"There are, Venerable Sir, many trees. They are not mango trees."
"Apart from other mango-trees and those which are not mango-trees, are there are any trees?"
"This mango-tree, Venerable Sir."
"You are a wise one, O lord of men. King, have you kinsfolk?"
"There are many, Venerable Sir."
"King, are there those who are not your kinsfolk?"
"There are many more than the kinsfolk."
"Could there be any beside your kinsfolk and others."
"Only me, Venerable Sir."
"Good, you are a wise one, O lord of men."

Knowing that he was wise, the *thera,* of great wisdom preached the Cūlahatthipadopama-Sutta to the monarch. At the end of the sermon, he, along with forty thousand men, was established in the refuges.

* * *

Then, in the evening, they brought a rice-hamper to the king. Even though he knew, "They will not eat now", the king thought, "It is but proper to ask them," and invited those seers to dinner. When it was told, "We do not eat now," the king asked for the time. When he was told the time, he said, "Let us go to the city."

"You go, great king, we will stay here."
"If so, let this youth go with us.".
"King, he is one who has attained the Fruit and is well-versed in the Faith. Awaiting ordination, let him stay with us. We shall ordain him now. Lord of the earth, you go."
"I will send the waggon at dawn. You get into it and go to the city."

The king worshipped the *theras* and, taking Bhaṇḍu aside,asked him information on the *thera.* He told the king everything. Coming to know the *thera,* he was overjoyed and thought, "These are boons to me." By the lay state of Bhaṇḍu, the lord of men, whose apprehensions were dispelled, knew that they were human.

* * *

Deciding, "We shall ordain this one," the *thera* in that very precinct of the village and in that chapter performed the ordination and the higher ordination of the youth Bhaṇḍuka. At that very moment, he attained Arahanthood.

Then the *thera* addressed the Sāmaṇera Sumana, "You announce the time for listening to the Dhamma." He asked, "Making it to be heard upto what place may I announce it?" When it was said by the *thera,* "The whole of Tambapaṇṇi", he, by miraculous power, announced the time of preaching the Dhamma making it to be heard throughout the whole Lankā.

The king, who was taking his meal seated on the rock-basin of the nāga-square, heard the sound and sent a message to the *thera,* "Is there any trouble?" "There is no trouble. The time was announced for listening to the word of the *Buddha,*" he said.

The earth-bound devas heard the summons of the *sāmaṇera* and repeated it. Thus gradually the call rose upto the Brahma-world. By that announcement there took place a great assembly of devas. In that assembly, the *thera,* preached the Samacitta-Sutta. The conversion of innumerable devas took place. Many nāgas and Supaṇṇas were established in the refuges. Just as there was for the Thera Sāriputta who was preaching this Sutta, there was an assembly of devas for the Thera Mahinda.

* * *

At dawn the king sent the waggon. The driver told them, "Get into the waggon. We go to the city." They of holy wishes said,"We do not get into the waggon. Go. We come behind you," and sent the driver away. They of great miraculous power rose to

the sky and descended at the site of the first *thūpa* to the east of the city.

The *thūpa* that was constructed where the *theras* first alighted is, therefore, called even today "the first *thūpa.*"

Since the women of the royal household, having heard of the *theras'* virtues from the king, wished to see them, the monarch had a beautiful pavilion built for them within the inner royal precincts themselves. It was covered with white cloth and adorned with flowers.

As he had heard of the *thera's* abstinence from high seats, he doubted "Would the *thera* sit on a high seat?" In the meantime, the driver saw the *theras* standing there and putting on their robes. Being excessively amazed he went and informed the king. The lord of the earth heard everything and decided, "They will not sit on chairs."

Saying, "Spread the finest carpets," he went to receive the *theras,* worshipped them respectively, took the almsbowl from the hand of the great Thera Mahinda and led the *thera* into the city with due observance of honour and hospitality. Seeing the seating arrangement, the soothsayers foretold, "The earth has been taken by them. They will be the lords in the island."

Showing them honour, the king led them to the inner palace. There, on cloth-seats, they sat down as appropriate. The king, himself served them gruel and soft and hard food.

* * *

When the meal was over, the king sat near them and sent for Anulā—the consort of the younger brother, the sub-king Mahānāga—who lived in the palace itself.

The queen Anūla came with five hundred women, worshipped and paid obeisance to the *theras* and sat on a side. The *thera* preached the Petavatthu, the Vimānavatthu and also the Sacca-saṃyutta. The women attained the First Fruit.

* * *

Having heard the virtues of the *theras* from men who had seen them on the previous day, many people from the city, assembled with the desire to see the *theras* and made a big noise at the palace-

gate. Hearing it, the king questioned, found out why and, being intent on their welfare, said, "Here it is inconvenient for all. Let them clean the hall of the state-elephant. There the townspeople will see the *theras.*" They cleaned the hall of the elephant, adorned it with canopies and so forth and arranged seats as appropriate. The great *thera,* accompanied by the *theras,* went there and took his seat. The great orator (i.e. Thera Mahinda) preached the Devaduta-Sutta. Hearing it, the townspeople, who were assembled, were pleased. Among them, a thousand beings attained the First Fruit.

* * *

Thus, in the island of the Lankā, the peerless *thera,* comparable to the *Master,* preached, in the language of the island, the Dhamma in two places for the preservation of Lankā. He, the light of the island, introduced the Dhamma.

The Fourteenth Chapter called "The Entry to the City" in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XV

THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE MAHĀVIHĀRA

Those respectful people, who had assembled there, thought, "Even the elephant's hall is congested," and arranged seats for the *theras,* outside the southern gate, in the pleasant royal park, the Nandana-grove, which was thickly shaded, cool and covered with verdure. The *thera* departed by the southern gate and took his seat there.

Many women of noble families came there and sat beside the *thera,* filling the park. The *thera* preached to them the Bāla-paṇḍita-Sutta. A thousand women among them attained the First Fruit. Thus while they were there in the park, evening fell. Then the *theras* set forth saying "Let us go to the mountain."

They informed the king and he came speedily. Having approached the *thera,* he said, "It is evening-time. The mountain is far away. It is convenient to reside here in the Nandana-grove itself."

When it was said,"It is not suitable because of the nearness to the city", he said, "The Mahāmeghavana-park which is neither too far nor too near is pleasant and abounds in shade and water. May it please you to rest there. Venerable Sir, you must turn back." The *thera* turned back there.

> It is said that at the place near the Kadamba-river, where he turned back, the *cetiya* called the Nivatta-cetiya was constructed.

To the south of the Nandana-park, the king himself led the *thera* to the Mahāmeghavana-park whose gate was to the east. There, in the pleasant royal dwelling, he had fine beds and seats prepared very well and told the *thera* "Dwell here in comfort." He worshipped the *theras* and, accompanied by ministers, entered the city. The *thera* spent that night there.

At dawn, the lord of the earth, taking flowers, visited the *theras,* worshipped them, offered them flowers and asked them, "Was your stay pleasant? Is the park convenient?"

"Great king, the stay was pleasant. The park is convenient to ascetics."

The king asked, "Venerable Sir, Is an Ārāma (park or hermitage) allowed to the Sangha?" The *thera,* who was well versed in what was allowed or not, said "It is allowed" and related the acceptance of the Veḷuvanārāma. Hearing it, he was excessively pleased and the people were overjoyed.

* * *

The queen Anūla, who came with five hundred women to pay homage to the *theras,* attained the Second Fruit. The queen Anūla, along with the five hundred, told the lord of the earth, "Lord, we shall seek ordination." The king said to the *thera,* "May you ordain these." The *thera* told the lord of the earth, "Great king, it is not allowed for us to ordain women. In Pāṭaliputta is my younger sister—a *bhikkhuṇī* known by the name of Sanghamittā. She is erudite. Lord of men, send word to my father, the king, saying 'let her come taking with her noble *bhikkhuṇīs* as well as the southern branch of the great Bodhi tree of the *lord of recluses,* The *therī* will come and ordain these women."

* * *

"Good" said the king and, taking a splendid pitcher, poured dedicational water on the hand of the Thera Mahinda saying, "I confer this Mahāmeghavana-park on the Sangha." When the water fell on the ground, the great earth quaked. The ruler of the earth asked him, "Why does the earth quake?" He replied, "Because of the establishment of the Faith in the island."

He of good birth (i.e.the king) offered jasmine-blossoms to the *thera.* The *thera* went to the royal dwelling and, standing to the south of it, scattered eight handfuls of blossoms about the *picula* tree. There, too, the earth quaked. Being asked he gave the reason.

"In the time of three previous Buddhas also there was a *mālaka* (terrace) here. Lord of men, now, too, there will be one for monastic acts of the Sangha."

To the north from the royal dwelling, the *thera* went to the beautiful lotus-pond and there, too, scattered as many flowers. There, too, the earth quaked. Being asked, he stated the reason: "Ruler of the earth, this will be the hot-bathhouse-pond."

Going to the gate-house of the royal dwelling itself, the seer paid homage to that spot with as many flowers. Then also the earth quaked. Being excessively excited with joy, the king asked for the cause. The *thera* gave the reason: "Ruler of the earth, the southern branches of the Bodhi trees of the three previous Buddhas of this aeon were brought and planted here. Ruler of the earth, the southern branch of the Bodhi tree of our *Buddha,* too will be established in this place itself."

Then the great *thera* went to the Mahāmucala-terrace and scattered as many flowers on that spot. There also the earth quaked. Being questioned, he told the reason:"Ruler of the earth, the Uposatha-hall of the Sangha will be here."

* * *

Thence he of great wisdom went to the Pañhaṃbā-terrace.

> The gardener offered to the king a well-ripe mango, excellent in colour, fragrance and taste and large in size. The king offered the excessively attractive fruit to the *thera.* The *thera,* intent on the welfare of the people, indicated the need to sit. The king had a fine carpet spread there. The lord of the earth gave the mango to the *thera,* who sat there. The *thera* ate it and gave the seed to the king to plant. The king, by himself, planted it there. The *thera* washed his hands over it for it to grow. At that very moment, a shoot sprouted forth from the seed and gradually became a great tree full of leaves and fruits, the crowd including the king, with their hair standing on end, stood worshipping the *theras.*

Then the *thera* scattered there eight handfuls of flowers. There, too, the earth quaked. Being asked, he told the reason: "Leader of men, this place will be the centre where the Sangha will assemble and share the various benefits that will accrue to it."

* * *

Thence he went to the site of the Catussālā (i.e. the refectory) and scattered there as many flowers. There also the earth quaked. The king asked for the cause of that earthquake. The *thera* explained. "On the acceptance of royal parks by the three former

Buddhas, the inhabitants of the island brought alms from all directions and,keeping the blessed ones with the Sanghas here fed them. Now, again, here itself, there will be the Catussālā. Leader of men, here will be the refectory of the Sangha."

* * *

From there, the great Thera Mahinda, the developer of the island, who knew the proper and improper places, went to the site of the Great Thūpa (i.e.the present Ruvanveli Seya). At that time, there was within the boundaries of the royal park a small lake named Kakudha. Above it at the water's edge was a flat site suitable for a *thūpa.* When the *thera* went there, they brought to the king eight baskets of *campaka* flowers. The king offered the *campaka* flowers to the *thera.* He paid homage to that spot with the *campaka* flowers. There, too, the earth quaked. The king asked him for the reason. The *thera* related in order the reason for the earthquake.

> "O great king, this place, which had been visited by four Buddhas, deserves a *thūpa* for the welfare and happiness of beings. In the present aeon, the first Buddha was the *conqueror* Kakusandha, a teacher well-versed in all the Dhamma and compassionate to the whole world. This Mahāmegha-forest was called Mahātittha and to its east on the further bank of the Kadamba-river was the city Abhaya. There was king Abhaya. This island then was Ojadīpa by name.
>
> On account of demons, the people here had the disease Pajjaraka. Kakusandha of ten powers saw this misery. In order to avert it as well as to discipline the beings and establish the Faith, he came through the air, urged by the power of his compassion on this island, accompanied by forty thousand like him and stood on the Devakūṭa-mountain.
>
> Great king, then by the power of the *Buddha* the disease Pajjaraka was eradicated here all over the island. Lord of men, the *lord of sages, the great sage,* standing there, willed:
> 'May all the people of Ojadīpa see me today. Let

> all people who desire to come near me do so quickly and without difficulty.'
>
> The king and the townsfolk saw the shining *lord of sages* and the mountain made by him to shine and came there soon. The people went there so as to offer oblation to devatās; they thought the *leader of the world* and the Sangha were devatās. Greatly pleased, the king worshipped the *king of sages,* invited him to a repast and brought him near the city. Thinking, 'This excellent and pleasant spot which is free of obstacles is a suitable resting place for the *lord of sages* and the Sangha,' the lord of the earth had a beautiful pavilion constructed and had the Buddha along with the Sangha seated here on fine seats.
>
> The people of the island, seeing the *leader of the world* with the Sangha seated here, brought gifts from all directions. The king served the *leader of the world* and the Sangha with his own hard and soft food and those brought by different persons.
>
> To the *conqueror* who was seated exactly here after the meal, the king offered as a splendid gift the Mahātittha-park. Then, when the Mahātittha-park, adorned with flowers which blossomed out of season, was accepted by the Buddha, the great earth quaked.
>
> Seated here itself, the *leader* preached the Dhamma. Forty thousand people attained the Path and the Fruit. Having spent the day in the Mahātittha-park, the *conqueror* went in the evening to the spot which was suitable as the site for the Bodhi-tree. Seated there, the *Buddha* became absorbed in meditation. Arising from it, he thought thus for the good of the islanders:
>
> 'May the Bhikkhuṇī Rucānandā come here with *bhikkhuṇīs,* taking with them the southern branch of my Bodhi-tree, the Sirīsa'. Knowing his thought the *therī* forthwith took the king there and went to the tree. She of great miraculous power caused a line to be marked on the southern branch with red

arsenic. O great king, taking five hundred *bhikkhuṇīs* and the Bodhi, which through miraculous power, separated itself and stood in a golden vase, she, surrounded by devatās, brought it here and placed it with the golden vase on the outstretched right hand of the *Buddha*. The *Tathāgata* received it and gave it to the king Abhaya to plant. The lord of the earth planted it in the Mahātittha-park.

Then the Buddha went northwards from here and, seated on the beautiful Sirīsa-terrace, preached the Dhamma to the people. Ruler of the earth, the conversion of twenty thousand beings to the Dhamma took place there.

Going further to the north from there, the *conqueror,* seated on the site of the Thupārāma, became absorbed in meditation and, arising from it, preached the Dhamma to those around him. There, ten thousand beings attained the Path and the Fruit.

Having given the people his water-strainer to worship, the *Buddha* left there the *bhikkhuṇī* with her followers and the disciple Mahādeva with a thousand *bhikkhus*. Standing at the site of the Ratanamāla (i.e. the present Ruvanveli Seya) towards the east from there, the Buddha admonished the people, rose to the sky with the Sangha and went to Jambudīpa.

* * *

The second Buddha in the present aeon was the *leader* Koṇāgamana, an omniscient teacher, compassionate to the whole world. The Mahāmegha-forest was called Mahānāma and to its south was the city Vaḍḍhamāna. At that time, the king there was Samiddha by name. This island was Varadīpa by name.

Here in Varadīpa was then the misery of drought. The *conqueror* Koṇāgamma saw this misery. In order to avert it as well as to discipline the beings and establish the Faith, he came through the air,

urged by the power of his compassion on the island, accompanied by thirty thousand *bhikkhus* like him and stood on the Sumanakūṭaka-mountain.

By the power of the Buddha, the drought came to an end. Then upto the disappearance of the Faith, there was ample rain. Lord of men, the *lord of sages,* the *great sage,* standing there willed:

'May all the people of Varadīpa see me today. Let all people who desire to come near me do so quickly and without difficulty.'

The king and the townsfolk saw the shining *lord of sages* and the mountain made by him to shine and came there soon. The people went there so as to offer oblation to devatās; they thought the *leader of the world* and the Sangha were devatās. Greatly pleased, the king worshipped the *king of sages,* invited him to a repast and brought him near the city. Thinking, 'This excellent and pleasant spot which is free of obstacles is a suitable resting place for the *lord of sages* and the Sangha,' the lord of the earth had a beautiful pavilion constructed and had the *Buddha* along with the Sangha seated here on fine seats.

The people of the island, seeing the *leader of the world* with the Sāngha seated here, brought gifts from all directions. The king served the *leader of the world* and the Sangha with his own hard and soft food and those brought by different persons.

To the *conqueror* who was seated exactly here after the meal, the king offered as a splendid gift the Mahānāma-park. Then, when the Mahānāma-park, adorned with flowers which blossomed out of season, was accepted by the *Buddha,* the great earth quaked.

Seated here itself, the *leader* preached the Dhamma. Then, thirty thousand people attained the Path and the Fruit. Having spent the day in the Mahānāma-park, the *conqueror* went in the evening to the spot where the previous Bodhi-tree stood. Seated there, the *Buddha* became absorbed

in meditation. Arising from it, he thought thus for the good of the islanders:

'May the Bhikkhunī Kantakānandā come here with *bhikkhunīs,* taking with them the southern branch of my Bodhi-tree, the Udumbara', knowing his thought, the *therī* forthwith took the king there and went to the tree. She of great miraculous power caused a line to be marked on the southern branch with red arsenic. O great king, taking five hundred *bhikkhunīs* and the Bodhi, which through miraculous power separated itself and stood in a golden vase, she, surrounded by devatās, brought it here and placed it on the outstretched right hand of the *Buddha.* The *Tathāgata* received it and gave it to the king Samiddha to plant. The lord of the earth planted it in the Mahānāma-park.

Then the *Buddha* went to the north of Sirīsa-terrace and, seated on the Nāga-terrace, preached the Dhamma to the people. Ruler of the earth, on hearing that sermon, the conversion of twenty-thousand beings took place there.

Further north, he went to the place where the former *Buddha* had sat and, seated there, became absorbed in meditation. Arising from it, the *Buddha* preached the Dhamma to those who were around him. There, ten thousand beings attained the Path and the Fruit.

Having given his girdle as a relic to be worshipped by the people, the *Buddha* left here the *bhikkhunī* with her followers and the disciple Mahāsumba with a thousand *bhikkhus.* Standing on this side of the Ratanamāla in the Sudassanamāla, the *conqueror* admonished the people, rose to the sky with the Sangha and went to Jambudīpa.

* * *

In the present aeon, the third Buddha was the *conqueror* Kassapa, by clan, an omniscient teacher, compassionate to the whole world. The Mahāmegha-park was called Mahāsāgara. To its west

was the city named Visāla. At that time, the king there was Jayanta by name. This island was Maṇḍadīpa by name.

At that time, a dreadful and life-destroying war had broken out between the king Jayanta and his younger brother. The greatly compassionate *sage,* Kassapa, of ten powers, saw the immense suffering caused to the people by the war. In order to avert it as well as to discipline the beings and establish the Faith, he came through the air, urged by the power of his compassion on this island, accompanied by twenty thousand like him and stood on the Subhakūṭa-mountain.

Lord of men, the *lord of sages,* the *great sage,* standing there, willed: 'May all the people of Maṇḍadīpa see me today. Let all people, who desire to come near me, do so quickly and without difficulty.'

The king and the townsfolk saw the shining *lord of sages* and the mountain made by him to shine and came there soon. Many people—each side for the attainment of its own victory—came to the mountain so as to offer oblation to devatās; they thought the *leader of the world* and the Sangha were devatās. The king and the prince, being amazed, abandoned the war. Greatly pleased, the king worshipped the *king of sages,* invited him to a repast and brought him near the city. Thinking, 'This excellent and pleasant spot which is free of obstacles is a suitable resting place for the *lord of sages* and the Sangha', the lord of the earth had a beautiful pavilion constructed and had the Buddha along with the Sangha seated here on fine seats.

The people of the island, seeing the *leader of the world* with the Sangha seated here, brought gifts from all directions. The king served the *leader of the world* and the Sangha with his own hard and soft food and those brought by different persons.

To the *conqueror* who was seated exactly here after the meal, the king offered as a splendid gift the

Mahāsāgara-park. When the Mahāsāgara-grove, adorned with flowers which blossomed out of season, was accepted by the Buddha, the great earth quaked.

Seated here itself, the *leader* preached the Dhamma. Then twenty thousand people attained the Path and the Fruit. Having spent the day in the Mahāsāgara-grove, the *conqueror* went in the evening to the spot where the previous Bodhi stood. Seated there, the Buddha became absorbed in meditation. Arising from it, he thought thus for the good of the islanders:

'May the Bhikkhuṇī Sudhammā come here now with the *bhikkhuṇīs,* taking with them, the southern branch of my Bodhi-tree, the Nigrodha'. Knowing his thought, the *therī* forthwith took the king there and went to the tree. She of great power caused a line to be marked on the southern branch with red arsenic. O great king, taking five hundred *bhikkhuṇīs* and the Bodhi, which through miraculous power separated itself and stood in a golden vase, she, surrounded by devatās, brought it here and placed it with the golden vase on the outstretched right hand of the *Buddha.* The *Tathāgata* received it and gave it to the King Jayanta to plant. The lord of the earth planted it in the Mahāsāgara-park.

Then the Buddha went to the north of the Nāga-terrace, preached the Dhamma to the people. Ruler of men, on hearing that sermon, the conversion of four thousand beings took place there.

Further north, he went to the place where the former Buddha sat and seated there, became absorbed in meditation. Arising from it, the *Buddha* preached the Dhamma to those who were around him. Ten thousand beings attained the Path and the Fruit there too.

Having given his water-robe as a relic to be worshipped by the people, the *conqueror* left here the *bhikkhuṇī* with her followers and the disciple

Sabbananda with a thousand *bhikkhus.* At the Somanassa-terrace, on this side of the river and Sudassana-terrace, the *conqueror* admonished the people, rose to the sky with the Sangha and went to Jambudīpa.

* * *

In the present aeon, the fourth Buddha was the *conqueror* Gotama, a teacher well-versed in all the Dhamma and compassionate to the whole world. He came here first and performed the expulsion of the yakkhas. He came again a second time and subdued the nagās. Invited by the nāga Maṇiakkhi of Kalyāṇi, he came again a third time and, with the Sangha, had a meal there. He sat down and made use of the place where the former Bodhi-tree stood, the site of the *thūpa* here and the place for the used objects revered as relics.[1]

The *great sage* went to this side of the place where the former Buddha stood. As there were no human beings in the island of Lankā then, the *lamp of the world* admonished the Nāga and the host of devas, who were in the island; the *conqueror* rose to the sky with the Sangha and went to Jambudīpa.

* * *

Thus, O King, was this place visited by four *Buddhas.* At this spot, great king, there will be a *thūpa* in the future, one hundred and twenty cubits high and enshrining a *doṇa* of the Buddha's bodily relics. It will be known as the Hemamāli." (i.e.Ruvanveli Seya)

The lord of the earth said,"I myself shall construct it." The *thera* said, "Ruler of the earth, there are many other things here for you to do. Do them. A descendent of yours will do this. A son of your brother Mahānāga, the sub-king, will in the future be

1. In Buddhist worship, three kinds of relics are recognized: bodily relics of the Buddha (i.e.teeth, fragments of bone and so on); objects used by the Buddha (e.g. almsbowl and belt); and icons.

king by the name of Yaṭṭhālāyakatissa. His son will be the king Goṭhābhaya. His son will be named Kākavaṇṇātissa. King, the son of this king, Abhaya by name but known by the appelation Duṭṭhagāmaṇi will become a great king. Possessed of great majesty, miraculous power and prowess, he will build the *thūpa* here."

At the *thera's* behest, the lord of the earth erected here a stone pillar, having written on it this statement.

* * *

The great Thera Mahinda, of immense miraculous power and wisdom accepted the beautiful Mahāmegha-grove, the garden of Tissa. Himself unshakeable, he caused the earth to quake at eight spots. He entered the city, comparable to the ocean, to beg for alms, took his meal in the royal palace, left the mansion, sat in the Nandana-grove and preached to the people there the Aggikkhandhopama-Sutta. Having caused a thousand people there to attain the Path and the Fruit, he resided in the Mahāmegha-grove.

* * *

On the third day, the *thera* took his meal at the royal palace, sat down at the Nandana-grove and preached the Āsīvisūpama-Sutta. Having brought about the conversion of a thousand men, he went from there to the garden of Tissa. The king, who heard the sermon, sat by the side of the *thera,* and asked, "Venerable Sir, is the Faith of the *conqueror* verily established?"

The great *thera* replied, "Not yet, O ruler of men. When a precinct is fixed here for purposes of monastic acts such as *uposatha,* according to the command of the *conqueror* then the Faith will be established, O lord of people." The king told him this: "O giver of light, I will abide within the *Buddha's* commandment. Therefore, establish the precinct quickly including the city." When the Great king said so, the *thera* replied, "If it be so, lord of the earth, you yourself mark the course of the boundary and we will fix it." Having said, "It is well," the lord of the earth left the Mahāmeghavāna-park like the lord of the gods leaving the Nandana-park and entered his own palace.

* * *

On the fourth day, the *thera* took his meal in the king's palace

and, seated in the Nandana-grove, preached the Anamataggiya. Having made a thousand people to imbibe ambrosia[2], the great *thera* went to the Mahāmeghavana-park.

In the morning, having announced by the beat of drum, the lord of the chariots had the splendid city, the road leading to the monastery and the monastery decorated all round. Standing on a chariot, he, decked in all ornaments and accompanied by his ministers, women of the harem and infantry,cavalry and chariots, went to his own garden, along with a great following.

There he went upto the *theras* and worshipped them who were worthy of homage. He ploughed a circular furrow commencing from a ford of the Kadamba-river and ended it on reaching the river. The great *thera* of immense wisdom announced the boundary-marks on the furrow provided by the king and assigned the marks for the thirty-two terraces, and the Thūpārāma itself. He also announced, according to custom, the boundary marks of the inner precinct. The saint fixed on that one day all the precincts. When the fixing of precincts was completed, the great earth quaked.

* * *

On the fifth day, the *thera* took his meal in the king's palace and, seated in the Nandana-grove, preached the Khajjanīya-Sutta to the people. Having made a thousand people to imbibe ambrosia there, he stayed in the Mahāmegha-grove.

* * *

On the sixth day, the *thera* took his meal in the king's palace. Seated in the Nandana-grove, the knower of sermons preached the Gomayapiṇḍīka-Sutta and caused the conversion of exactly a thousand people. He stayed in the Mahāmegha-grove.

* * *

On the seventh day, the *thera* took his meal in the king's palace and, seated in the Nandana-grove, preached the Dhammacakkappavattana-Sutta. Having brought exactly a thousand people to

2. The imagery is for the Dhamma which was preached. *Amata* in Pālī has the meanings of immortality and ambrosia.

conversion, he stayed in the Mahāmegha-grove. Thus, the bearer of light had brought about the conversion of eight thousand five hundred within just seven days.

By that is the great Nandana-grove called *Jotivana* (the Grove of Light) as the place where the light of the Faith was established by the holy one.

* * *

From the first days the king had a mansion built for the *thera* in the Tissa-garden and had the clay dried quickly with fire.

As a result the mansion was black in colour. Therefore it got the designation "Kālapāsāda-pariveṇa" (The Black-mansion Cell).

Then he had the great Bodhi-tree house, the Lohapāsāda, the house of food-tickets and the refectory well constructed. He also caused to be built satisfactorily many cells, ponds and places such as those to spend the night or the day.

The cell on the brink of the bathing pond of him whose evil had been washed off is called the "Suṇhāta-pariveṇa."
The cell at the promenade of the excellent light of the island is called "Dīghacankamana."
Where he entered into the trance of the highest Fruit is, therefore, called "Therāpassaya-pariveṇa."
That where the *thera* sat leaning against a support is thus called "Therāpassaya-pariveṇa."
Where many hosts of deities came to him and attended on him is called "Marugaṇa-pariveṇa" for that reason alone.

Dīghasanda, the general of the king, had a small mansion with eight great pillars built for the *thera*.

This foremost cell, the source of eminent persons, is called Dīghsandasenāpati-pariveṇa."[3]

* * *

The wise king in whose name is implied the word 'Beloved of the gods,' had this first great monastery constructed here[4] in Lankā for the great Thera Mahinda of umblemished wisdom.

The Fifteenth Chapter called "The Acceptance of the Mahāvihāra" in the *Mahāvaṃsa* compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

---

3. This is the monastery in which the author of the Mahāvaṃsa resided in the sixth century A.C.
4. By 'here' author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* means Anuradhāpura. In other contexts he also means *either* the island of Lankā *or* the Mahāvihāra, where he resided.

CHAPTER XVI

THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE CETIYAPABBATA-VIHĀRA

The *thera* dwelt in the Mahāmegha-grove, begging for alms in the city to favour the people and taking his meals in the royal palace to favour the king. On the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of Āsāḷha (June-July) he of great wisdom took his meal in the royal palace of the great king and preached the Mahappamāda-Sutta. Desiring the establishment of a monastery there at Cetiyapabbata, he departed from the palace by the eastern gate and went to Cetiyapabbata.

Hearing that the *thera* went there, the lord of the earth mounted his chariot and, taking with him the two queens, followed the *thera*. At the Nāgacatukka, the *theras* bathed in the pond and stood in order to climb the hill.

The king got down from the chariot and worshipped the *theras* who were standing. They asked, "King, why did you come wearying yourself in the heat?" When it was said, "Being anxious over your departure did I come," the *thera* well-versed in the Khandha (i.e.a section of the Rules of Discipline) said, "We came so as to spend the rainy season here itself," and expounded to the king the Khandhaka on the commencement of the Lent.

Hearing it, the king's nephew, the chief minister Mahāriṭṭha stood in the presence of the king, along with fifty-five older and younger brothers and, having asked the king, obtained ordination from the *thera* that very day. All of them of great wisdom attained Arahanthood in the shaving-hall itself.

That day itself the king started work on sixty-eight caves around the site of the Kantaka-cetiya and returned to the city. The theras remained there itself, going to the city through compassion to beg for alms on time.

On the full-moon day of the month of Āsāḷha, when the work on the caves was completed, the king went there and offered the theras the gift on the monastery.

The *thera,* who had surpassed boundaries (i.e. attained deliverance), established, on that very day, the precinct of the thirty-two terraces of the monastery and in the Tumbaru-terrace, which

was marked out first, conferred higher ordination to those who were awaiting it. All these sixty Arahants commenced the Lent there at Cetiyapabbata and favoured the king.

Hosts of gods and men came to the leader of the chapter, who attained wide fame for his virtue, and his company and, paying reverence to them, amassed a heap of merit.

The Sixteenth Chapter called "The Acceptance of the Cetiya-pabbata-vihāra" in the *Mahāthūpa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XVII

THE ARRIVAL OF THE RELICS

The great *thera* of immense wisdom, who had spent the Lent, held the Pavāraṇa on the full-moon day of the month of Kattika (October-November) and told the great king thus: "Ruler of men, it is a very long time since we have seen our *teacher,* the *Buddha.* We live a life of deprivation. There is nothing for us to worship here."

"Venerable Sir, have you not told me that the *Buddha* had passed into Nibbāṇa?"

He said, "When relics are seen, the *conqueror* is seen."

"I have known your intention as regards the construction of a *thūpa* by me. I shall have the *thūpa* built. May you find the relics."

The *thera* told the king, "Consult with Sumana." The king asked the *sāmaṇera,* "From where shall we get the relics?" Sumana, of sound mind, replied thus, "O Ruler of men, having had the city and the road decorated, observe *uposatha* along with the retinue, mount the state elephant and, bearing the white parasol and attended by musicians, go to the Mahānāga-park in the evening. You will get, O king, the relics of *him who knew the dissolution of elements.*"

* * *

Then the *thera* went from the royal household to the Cetiya-pabbata and summoned the Sāmaṇera Sumana of well-disposed demeanour, "Come, good Sumana, go to the splendid Pupphapura, and tell thus our word to your grandfather, the great king, 'Great king, your friend—the great king, the beloved of the gods, being pleased in the doctrine of the *Buddha* wishes to build a *thūpa.* May you give the relics of the *sage* and the almsbowl which the *teacher* used, for you have a plenty of bodily relics with you.'

> "Taking an almsbowlful of them, go to the fair city of gods and tell thus our word to Sakka, the lord of gods 'Lord of gods, the right eye tooth relic and the right collar-bone relic of *him,* who is worthy of adoration of the three worlds, is with you. You

yourself pay homage to the tooth. May you give the collar-bone of the *teacher.* Divine ruler, may you not neglect the duties towards the isle of Lankā.'"

Saying "Yes, Venerable Sir," the *sāmaṇera* of great miraculous power came at that very moment to the presence of the king Asoka the Righteous and saw him paying homage, with offerings of the Kattika-festival,to the auspicious great Bodhi-tree which was placed at the foot of a *sāla* tree. Having conveyed the word of the *thera* and obtained the relics from the king, he took the almsbowlful and went to the Himālaya. Keeping in the Himālaya the sacred almsbowl with the relics, he went to the lord of gods and told him the *thera's* word.

Sakka, the king of the gods, took the right collar-bone from the Cūḷāmaṇi-Cetiya and gave it to the *sāmaṇera.* Taking that relic and the almsbowl of relics, Sumana, the ascetic, came from there to Cetiyapabbata and gave them to the *thera.*

* * *

In the evening, at the head of the royal army, the king went to the Mahānāga-park in the manner prescribed. The *thera* placed all the relics there itself on the mountain.

Thereby, the *Missaka-pabbata* became the *Cetiyapabbata.*

Having kept the bowl of relics at the Cetiyapabbata, the *thera* took the collar-bone relic and went with his company to the appointed place.

The king thought, "If this is a relic of the *sage,* let my parasol bow down by itself; let the elephant fall on his knees; and let this relic-casket with the relic come and place itself on my head." What was thought happened in that manner.

The lord of the earth was overjoyed as if he was sprinkled with ambrosia. He took it from his head and placed it on the back of the elephant. Overjoyed, the elephant trumpeted. The earth quaked.

Then the elephant, accompanied by the *theras,* the troops and chariots, turned back and entered the fair city by the eastern gate. Then leaving it again by the southern gate, he went to the

compound of the Great Sacrifice, established behind the site for the Thūpārāma-Cetiya. He turned back at the site of the Bodhi-tree and stood with his face to the east.

* * *

At that time, the site of the *thūpa* was covered with *kadamba-*flowers and *ādāri*-creepers. The god among men had that holy spot, which was protected by gods, cleared and adorned well at that very moment and began to take the relic down from the back of the elephant. The elephant did not like it. The king questioned the *thera* about the elephant's intention.

The *thera* said, "He desires it to be placed at a spot as high as his own back. Therefore, is the descent of the relic not liked by him."Immediately, the king had lumps of dry clay brought from dried Abhaya-tank and, with them, made a pile equal in height. Having decorated that most magnificent place in various ways, the king took down the relic from the back of the elephant and placed it there.

Having arranged for the security of the relic and leaving the elephant there, the king, with urgent thoughts for construction of the *thūpa* for the relic, engaged many people to make bricks quickly. Planning the affair of the relic, he with his ministers entered the city. But the great Thera Mahinda, with his company, went to the auspicious Mahāmegha-grove and stayed there.

During the night the elephant paced around the place with the relic and, by day, he stood with the relic in the hall on the site of the Bodhi-tree. The lord of the earth adhering to the *thera's* advice built the *thūpa* knee-high above the site in a few days and, announcing the placing of the relic there, came to that place. Then and there from all sides the people assembled.

* * *

At that assembly, the relic rising to the sky from the back of the elephant, remained in the sky at a height of about seven palm-trees and, causing amazement to the people, performed the Twin Miracle, which caused horripilation,just as the *Buddha* at the foot of the *gaṇḍamba*-tree. With the flames and the torrents of water, which emanated therefrom, the whole land of Lankā was at once all illumined and drenched.

By the five-eyed *conqueror,* lying on the bed of final Nibbāṇa, five great resolutions were made:
"Let the southern branch of the great Bodhi-tree, being held by Asoka, sever itself and be placed automatically in the bowl."
"Let the branch, having placed itself disseminate from its fruits and leaves the auspicious six-coloured rays and illumine all directions."
"Let this delightful branch, along with the golden bowl rise up and stay invisible in the bosom of snow for seven days."
"Let my right collar-bone being placed in the Thūparama rise to the sky and perform the Twin Miracle."
"Let my holy relics, a *doṇa* in volume, being placed in the Hemamālika-cetiya, which is an ornament to Lankā, assume the form of the Buddha, rise to the sky and, staying there, perform the Twin Miracle and take their place."

The Tathāgata made thus these five resolutions. Therefore, the relic performed the miracle at that time. Descending from the sky, it rested on the head of the ruler of the earth. Rejoicing excessively the king placed it in the *cetiya.*

When the relic was placed in the *cetiya* there was a great earthquake, wondrous and horripilating. Thus are the Buddhas beyond the realm of thought and the Dhammas of the Buddhas beyond the realm of thought. To those who are pleased in what is beyond the realm of thought, the reward is beyond the realm of thought. Seeing the miracle, people were pleased in the *conqueror.*

* * *

The prince Mattābhaya, the younger brother of the king, being pleased in the *king of sages,* asked the king and obtained ordination in the Faith with a thousand men. Five hundred youth each from Cetāvi-village, Dvāramaṇḍalā, Vihārabīja, likewise Gallakapīṭha and also Upatissagāma, being pleased, with faith developed in the *Tathāgata,* obtained ordination. Thus from the

city and outside all who had obtained ordination then were thirty thousand *bhikkhus.*

* * *

The lord of the earth, having completed the noble *thūpa* of the Thūpārāma, caused it to be worshipped perpetually with various gems etc.The ladies of the king's harem, the kṣatriyas, the ministers as well as the townsfolk and even all the country-folk paid homage.

Here the king had a monastery built, commencing with the *thūpa.* By that the monastery came to be known as the Thūpārāma.

* * *

Thus the lord of the world, even though he had passed into Nibbāṇa, bestowed well, in many ways with his bodily relic, the welfare and happiness of the people. Of what talk when the conqueror *was alive!*

The Seventeenth Chapter called "The Arrival of the Relics" in the *Mahāvaṃsa* compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

Chapter XVIII

THE ACQUISITION OF THE GREAT BODHI-TREE

One day during the rainy reason, the lord of the earth, recalling in his own city the words uttered by the *thera* to send for the great Bodhi-tree and the *therī,* sat by the *thera* and consulted with his ministers. Assigning to this task the minister named Ariṭṭha, his own nephew, the king deliberated on it, sent for him and said these words:

"Dear one, can you go to the presence of Asoka the Righteous and bring here the great Bodhi-tree and the Therī Sanghamittā?" "O giver of honours, your majesty, I can bring them from there here if, on my return, I am allowed to receive ordination." Saying, "Let it be so," the king sent him there. He took the message of the *thera* and the king, worshipped them and departed on the second day of the bright half of the month of Assayuja (September-October). Filled with zeal, he embarked at the port of Jambukola and, crossing the great sea by the power of the *thera's* will went to beautiful Pupphapura on the very day of his departure.

* * *

The pious and well-disciplined queen Anulā, the learner, with five hundred maidens and also five hundred women of the royal harem, had observed the ten precepts. Donning the yellow robe and desiring ordination, she lived in a pleasant nunnery built by the king in a certain part of the city, awaiting the arrival of the *therī.*

As this nunnery was occupied by these female-devotees, it was known in Lankā as Upāsikāvihara (the monastery of female devotees).

* * *

The nephew, great Ariṭṭha presented the king's message to the King Asoka the Righteous and also conveyed that of the *thera,* "O elephant among kings, the wife of the brother of your friend, the king, lives perpetually disciplined, longing for ordination. To

ordain her send the Bhikkhunī Sanghamittā and, with her, also the southern branch of the great Bodhi-tree." He also spoke of that matter, as the *thera* had said, to the *therī* also. The *therī* approached her father and told him of the *thera's* idea.

The king said, "Dear one, without seeing you how could I dispel the sorrow arising from the separation with my son and my grandson?" She replied, "Great king, weighty is my brother's word. There are many to be ordained. I should, therefore, go there."

* * *

The king thought, "The great Bodhi-tree should not be injured with a knife. How should I take a branch?" On the advice of the minister named Mahādeva, the lord of the earth invited the community of *bhikkhus* and, having offered them a meal asked, "Venerable Sirs, should the great Bodhi-tree be sent indeed to Lankā?"

The Thera Moggaliputta, having replied, "It should be sent," related to the king the five determinations made by the *Five-eyed.* The lord of the earth rejoiced on hearing it and had the seven-*yojana* road leading to the great Bodhi-tree thoroughly cleansed and decorated in various ways. He also caused gold to be brought for making a bowl. Vissakamma, too, came in the guise of a goldsmith and asked him, "Of what size should I make the bowl?" When it was said,"May you yourself know the size and make it," he took the gold, moulded it with his own hand, produced the bowl in that very moment and departed.

The king arranged to be taken the beautiful bowl nine hands in circumference, five hands deep, three hands in diameter and eight finger-breadths thick, having an upper edge of the size of a young elephant's trunk and shining like the morning sun. With a great company of monks and his four-fold army stretching to a length of seven *yojanas* and a breadth of three *yojanas,* the king went to the great Bodhi-tree which was decked with various ornaments, adorned with different precious stones,

garlanded with various flags, strewn with different flowers and resounding with varying music.

He had the Bodhi-tree surrounded by the army and enclosed with a curtain.In the great company led by a thousand great *theras,* he had himself and the great Bodhi-tree surrounded well by over a thousand who had been anointed kings and, with his hands clasped in salutation,gazed upon the great Bodhi-tree.

Leaving a stem of about four hands in length, from the southern branch, other branches vanished. The lord of the earth overjoyed on seeing this miracle cried out, "I venerate this great Bodhi-tree by offering it my kingdom." The lord of the earth consecrated the great Bodhi-tree in sovereignty.

Paying homage to the great Bodhi-tree with flowers and so forth, he circumambulated it thrice and venetrated it with folded hands at eight points. He had the golden bowl placed on a gold-inlaid seat, decked with various precious stones, easy to mount and of the same height as the branch. Having got on to it so as to reach the branch, he took red arsenic with a golden brush, drew a line and made this "affirmation of the truth":

"If the great Bodhi-tree should go from here to the island of Lankā and if I am unalterably firm in the Faith of the *Buddha,* let this auspicious southern branch of the great Bodhi-tree sever by itself, and be placed in the golden bowl here."

The great Bodhi-tree severed by itself, at the line, and stood above the bowl filled with fragrant earth. Above the first line, the Lord of men drew around ten red arsenic lines each three finger-breadths apart. Ten big roots from the first line and ten small roots from each of the others issued forth and dropped down in the form of a net.

Seeing this miracle the king was greatly gladdened and, there itself, uttered a cry of joy; the retinue all around and the community of *bhikkhus,* with happy minds, shouted "Sādhu". All around were thousands of cloth-waving.

Thus, with the hundred roots there, the great Bodhi-tree set itself in the fragrant earth, pleasing the people. The stem was ten hands in length and had five beautiful branches, each four hands and adorned with five fruits. On those branches were a thousand twigs. Thus was the great Bodhi-tree attractive and resplendent.

At the moment the great Bodhi-tree set itself in the bowl, the earth quaked and there were various miracles. There was a unique commotion with the sound of musical instruments playing by themselves among gods and men, with shouts of "Sadhu" by the host of gods and Brahmas, with noises of thunder, birds and beasts, yakkhas and others and with the resounding of the earthquake.

From the leaves and the fruits of the Bodhi-tree emanated rays of six colours and made the whole universe resplendent. The great Bodhi-tree with the bowl rose from there to the sky and remained seven days in the region of snow, unseen.

The king got down from his seat and, residing there for seven days performed, perpetually in various ways, a ceremony in homage of the great Bodhi-tree. When the week passed, all the snow-clouds and all those rays entered the great Bodhi-tree, and the beautiful great Bodhi-tree, set in the bowl, showed itself to the people in the clear sky. As various miracles came to pass, the great Bodhi-tree descended to the earth, astonishing the people.

Gladdened by these numerous miracles, the great king paid homage to the great Bodhi-tree again by offering the great kingdom. Having consecrated the great Bodhi-tree in sovereignty, he stayed there a further week paying homage to it with various offerings.

* * *

On the fifteenth Uposatha day of the bright half of the month of Assayuja, (September-October) he acquired the great Bodhi-tree. At the end of two weeks from that, on the fourteenth Uposatha

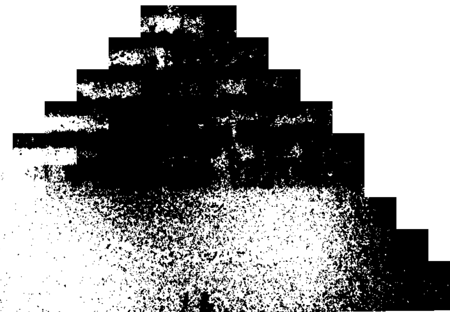
day of the dark half of the month of Assayuja, the lord of the chariots placed the great Bodhi-tree in a splendid vehicle and, while venetrating it, brought it to his own city that very day. Having made a beautiful pavilion, decorated in many ways, he, on the first day of the bright half of the month of Kattika (October-November) had the great Bodhi-tree placed at the foot of a great and beautiful *sāla*-tree in the east and made many offerings every day.

* * *

On the seventeenth day from the acquisition, new shoots sprang by themselves. His mind delighted by it, the leader of men offered the kingdom again to the great Bodhi-tree. The great ruler consecrated the great Bodhi-tree in the great sovereignty and performed ceremonies of varying forms to honour the great Bodhi-tree.

Thus in the city of flowers, the grand, brilliant and excellent ceremony in veneration of the great Bodhi-tree—mingling with beautiful flags of different forms—caused the blossoming of the minds of men and gods just as in a lake the sun.

The Eighteenth Chapter called "The Acquisition of the Great Bodhi-tree" in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.



Chapter XIX

THE COMING OF THE BODHI-TREE

The lord of chariots assigned, for the protection of the great Bodhi-tree, eighteen persons of royal families, eight from families of ministers, eight from brahman families, eight from families of guild-chiefs, of cowherds, of hyena and sparrow-hawk clans, likewise of weavers, also of potters, of all guilds and likewise of nāgas and yakkhas. The giver of honours gave also eight vessels each in gold and silver. The lord of the earth had the great Bodhi-tree brought aboard a ship on the Gangā and arranged for the great Therī Sanghamittā with eleven *bhikkhuṇīs* and those led by Ariṭṭha to embark on the same ship. The lord of the earth departed from the city, crossed the Vindhya forest and reached Tāmalitti in exactly seven days.

The gods, the nāgas and the men, honouring the great Bodhi-tree with the most splendid offerings, also arrived in just seven days. The lord of the earth had the great Bodhi-tree placed on the shore of the great ocean and once again bestowed on it the great kingdom. The giver of boons consecrated the great Bodhi-tree in the great sovereignty.

Then on the first day of the half of the month of Maggasira (November-December), he had the great Bodhi-tree raised by those same eight each of the families of high birth, assigned to lift the great Bodhi-tree at the foot of the *sāla*-tree. There he descended into the water upto his neck and had the great Bodhi-tree placed satisfactorily. Having made the great *therī,* with the *therīs*, and the chief minister, Mahāriṭṭha, to board the ship, he said these words: "I honoured the great Bodhi-tree thrice by bestowing on it the kingdom. May my friend the king pay homage to it with the kingdom likewise."

Having said this, the great king standing with hands clasped in salutation on the shore, shed tears as he looked upon the great Bodhi-tree leaving: "Alas! there departs the great Bodhi-tree of *the ten-powered one*, sending forth net-like rays of sunshine." Filled with sorrow on parting with the great Bodhi-tree, Asoka the Righteous returned to his own city, crying and lamenting.

* * *

The ship, laden with the Bodhi-tree, fared forth into the sea. In the great sea for a *yojana* around, waves subsided. Lotuses of five colours blossomed all around. Many musical instrument resounded in the air.

Many offerings were made by numerous deities. The nāgas resorted to supernatural powers to capture the great Bodhi-tree. The great Therī Sanghamittā, who had mastered supernormal powers, assumed the form of a Supaṇṇa and frightened away the great snakes. Being terrified, the great snakes begged of the great *therī* and took the great Bodhi-tree to the abode of the *nāgas*. For a week, they paid homage to it with the nāga kingdom and various offerings, brought it back and placed it in the ship.

* * *

That day itself the great Bodhi-tree arrived here at Jambukola. Hearing in advance of its coming from the Sāmaṇera Sumana, the king Devānampiyatissa, intent on the welfare of the world and filled with zeal, had the entire highway from the northern gate upto Jambukola decorated, starting from the first day itself of the month of Maggasira. He, whose thoughts were centred on the great Bodhi-tree, stood at the site of the Samudda-paṇṇasāla and, through the miraculous power of the great *therī,* saw the great Bodhi-tree coming.

The hall that was built at that spot in order to make known this miracle was known here by the name of Samuddapaṇṇasālā.

By the power of the great *thera,* the king accompanied by his army arrived in Jambukola with the *theras* on that very day. The handsome lord of Lankā, moved by the joyous emotion on the arrival of the great Bodhi-tree, descended, while making an exultant cry,into the water upto his neck. With sixteen persons of noble families, he took it and, placing it on his head, had it set down in a splendid pavilion on the shore. He paid homage to it with the sovereignty of Lankā. Having entrusted his kingship to the

sixteen persons of noble families the leader of men placed himself in the position of a doorkeeper and performed there itself various ceremonies for three days.

* * *

On the tenth day, the lord of men had the great Bodhi-tree in a splendid vehicle. Bringing the lord of trees, he, who was skilled as regards locations, had it placed at the site of the Eastern Monastery and arranged a morning meal for the Sangha and the people. There the great Thera Mahinda related in full to the king the subjugation of the nāga by the *ten-powered one.*

Listening to the *thera,* the king had monuments erected here and there in the places which the Buddha had used by sitting down and so forth. The lord of the earth had the great Bodhi-tree set down at the entrance to the Brahman Tivakka's village and also at various places on the way, which was sprinkled with white sand, strewn with various flowers adorned with flags and decorated with festoons of flowers. Honouring the great Bodhi-tree diligently day and night, he had it brought near Anurādhapura on the fourteenth day. As the shadows lengthened, he entered the well-decorated city—while continuing the ceremonies—by the northern gate and left it by the southern gate. Entering the Mahāmeghavana monastery which was frequented by the four Buddhas, he brought it to the beautiful site where the former Bodhi-tree stood—which place was well-prepared at the command of Sumana. He had the great Bodhi-tree lifted by the sixteen persons of noble families who were decked in royal ornaments—and loosened the hold to set it down.

* * *

Hardly was it released from the hand but it rose eighty cubits in the sky and, floating there, issued forth glorious six-coloured rays. These beautiful rays spread over the island and, reaching to the Brahma-world, lasted till sunset. Here, ten thousand men, being pleased by the miracle, gained insight through meditation, attained Arahanthood and obtained ordination.

At sunset, the great Bodhi-tree descended from there and established itself on earth under the

constellation of Rohiṇi. The earth quaked. The roots rose over the brim of the bowl, engulfed it and descended to the earth. All the people who had assembled paid homage, on all sides with offerings of incense, flowers and so forth, to the great Bodhi-tree which had established itself.

A great cloud rained. Cool and dense mists from the region of snow covered the great Bodhi-tree all around. For seven days, the great Bodhi-tree remained unseen in the region of snow, itself, generating faith in the people. At the end of the week, all the clouds dispersed. The great Bodhi-tree appeared and so did the six-coloured rays.

* * *

The great Thera Mahinda and the Bhikkhuṇī Sanghamittā, with their companions, and the king, with his retinue, came there. The Kṣatriyas of Kājaragāma and Candanagāma, the Brahman Tivakka and the inhabitants of the island, being greatly zealous over the great Bodhi-tree, came there by the power of the gods.

Amidst that great assembly, which was amazed with the miracle, a fruit that was on the east branch became ripe even as they gazed and fell down unspoiled. The *thera* picked it and gave it to the king to plant. The ruler planted it in a golden bowl, filled with perfume-mixed earth and placed at the site of the Mahā-āsana.

Even as all were looking at it, eight shoots sprang and grew into eight Bodhi-saplings four hands high. The king saw the Bodhi-saplings and, with amazement, honoured them by offering the white parasol and bestowed on them royal consecration.

They had one of eight planted at Jambukola on the spot where the Bodhi-tree stood after leaving the ship at that time; and one each of the Bodhi-saplings at the village of the Brahman Tivakka, likewise at the Thūpārāma, the Issarasamaṇa monastery, the compound of the first *cetiya,* the Cetiyapabbata monastery, also Kājaragāma and Candanagāma. Thirty-two

Bodhi-saplings which rose from the other four fruits were planted here and there all around at intervals of a *yojana.*

When, by the majesty of the perfect *Buddha,* the great Bodhi tree—the king of trees—was thus established for the welfare of the islanders, Anulā with her company obtained ordination from the Therī Sanghamittā and attained Arahanthood. Ariṭṭha accompanied by five hundred obtained ordination from the *thera* and attained Arahanthood.

The eight persons of the families of guild-chiefs who brought the great Bodhi-tree here are, by that fact, called "the families of the Bodhi-tree-bearers."

* * *

The great *therī* with her community dwelt in the nunnery known as Upāsikāvihāra. She caused to be constructed there twelve buildings of which three were prominent. She had the mast of the ship, which brought the Bodhi-tree, placed in one of the large buildings;the rudder in another; and the helm in the other. The buildings were known after them.

Even when other sects arose, these twelve buildings were always used by the Hatthāḷhaka-Bhikkhuṇīs. The king's state-elephant, wandering about at will, stayed in a cool gully on one side of the city browsing in a *kadambapuppha*-thicket. Seeing the elephant attached to that place, they fixed a post there. One day the elephant did not take the fodder. The king inquired about his wish from the *thera,* the converter of the island. The great *thera* told the great king, "The elephant desires that the *thūpa* be built in the *kadambapuppha*-thicket." The king, who was always intent on the welfare of the people, had a *thūpa* with relics and also a house for the *thūpa* constructed there swiftly. As a monastery where she resided was crowded, the great *therī*—wise and holy Sanghamittā, skilled in the choice of dwelling places, longing for a solitary abode, and desirous of the progress of the Faith—wishing to have another

nunnery for the good of the *Bhikkhuṇīs,* went to the *cetiya,*-house, which was splendid and pleasant due to seclusion, and spent the day. The king went to the nunnery to worship the *therī,* heard that she had gone there and went there to worship her. Having worshipped her and exchanged greetings and, coming to know the objective of her coming there, the great king Devānampiyatissa—the wise one who perceives objectives—caused to be built a beautiful nunnery all around the Thūpa-house. The nunnery built near the elephant's stable-post was by that reason called the Hatthāḷhaka monastery.

Supremely friendly Sanghamittā, the great *therī* of lofty wisdom, dwelt in that beautiful nunnery.

* * *

Thus this king of trees—the great Bodhi-tree—endowed with many wonders flourished in the beautiful Mahāmegha-grove in the island of Lankā bringing about the welfare of the people of Lankā and the progress of the Faith.

The Ninteenth Chapter called "The Coming of the Bodhi-tree" in the *Mahāvaṃsa,* compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XX

THE NIBBĀṆA OF THE THERA

In the eighteenth year of the king Asoka the Righteous, the great Bodhi-tree was planted in the Mahāmeghavana-park. In the twelfth year from that, the king's beloved queen, Asandhimittā, who was devoted to the Buddha, died. In the fourth year after that, the lord of the earth—Asoka the Righteous—placed, in the rank of queen, Tissarakkhā of disagreeable disposition.

In the third year from that, she, who was foolish and vain on account of her beauty, thought, "This king is devoted to the great Bodhi-tree rather than to me." Succumbing to hatred and bringing about harm to herself, she had the great Bodhi-tree destroyed by means of the *maṇdu*-thorn. In the fourth year from that, Asoka the Righteous of great fame came under the power of impermanence. These made up thiry-seven years.

* * *

The king Devānampiyatissa, too, being attached to the virtue of the Dhamma, completed as appropriate the new undertakings at the Mahāvihāra, likewise at Cetiyapabbata and also at Thūpārama and asked the *thera,* the converter of the island, who was well-versed in whatever was questioned. "Venerable Sir, I will cause good many monasteries to be built here. How will I find relics to enshrine in the *thūpas?*"

Being told by the *thera,* "There are relics brought here by Sumana filling the almsbowl of the *Buddha* and deposited at the Cetiyapabbata. Place them on the back of an elephant and bring them here," he brought the relics accordingly. He had monasteries founded at every *yojana* and had the relics enshrined appropriately in the *thūpas* there. The almsbowl used by the *Buddha,* the king kept in his beautiful treasury and worshipped continually with various offerings.

* * *

The place where five hundred nobles dwelt after receiving ordination from the great *thera* was called Issarasamaṇaka.

The place where five hundred commoners dwelt after receiving ordination from the great *thera* was likewise called Vessagiri.
Those caves in the rocky monastery inhabited by the great Thera Mahinda were called "Mahindaguhā" (Mahinda-caves).

* * *

First, the Mahāvihāra; *Second,* what was called Cetiya, *third,* the beautiful Thūpārāma, starting with the *thūpa;fourth;* the planting of the great Bodhi-tree; *fifth* the erection of a beautiful stone pillar on the site of the Mahācetiya indicating clearly the place for the future *thūpa;* and the enshrinement of the neck-bone of the *Buddha; sixth,* Issarasamaṇa; *seventh,* Tissa-tank; *eighth,* the Paṭhama-thūpa; *ninth,* what was called Vessa, likewise these two nunneries providing for the comfort of *bhikkhuṇīs:* what was called Upāsikā and the beautiful one called Hatthāḷhaka; the refectory named Mahāpāli, beautiful, with ample space around, stored with all provisions and provided with services to enable the community of *bhikkhus* visiting the nunnery of *bhikkhuṇīs* at Hatthāḷhaka to come and receive meals; likewise excellent gifts indeed annually for the *pavāraṇa* ceremony for a thousand *bhikkhus;* in Nāgadipa Jambukolavihāra at the port, Tissamahārama and Pācinārāma. Being intent on the welfare of the people of Lankā, the lord of Lankā, Devānampiyatissa—lover of virtue, possessing merit and wisdom, carried out these works in the very first year. Right through his life, he also accumulated many meritorious actions.

Under the sway of this king, this island was prosperous. He ruled the kingdom for forty years.

* * *

At this death without a son, his younger brother, the prince known as Uttiya,[1] ruled the kingdom well. The great Thera

1. Uttiya is the earliest king in Sri Lankan history whose name occurs in several contemporary inscriptions in Brāhmi script. A contemporary inscription also records the mission of the Thera Mahinda and

Mahinda, the light of Lankā, the leader of a host of disciples, expounded thoroughly in the island of Lankā the excellent teaching of the *conqueror*—sacred literature, religious practice and spiritual attainments—and, like a *Buddha* to Lankā, conferred much benefit to the people. In the eighth victorious year of the king Uttiya, the restrained *thera,* being sixty-years (from ordination) while observing Lent at the Cetiyapabbata and, on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Assayuja (September-October) passed into Nibbāṇa.

Hence is the day named after him.

* * *

The king Uttiya, hearing this and, being stricken by the dart of sorrow, went there, worshipped the *thera* and lamented much in many ways. He had the *thera's* body laid forthwith in a golden trough drenched with fragrant oil and had the well-closed trough placed in a decorated golden bier. He caused the bier to be taken and brought by a decorated route to the city, which was adorned in many ways. He also got the vast flood of people who came from here and there and the vast flood of troops to perform solemn ceremonies and rites of paying homage. Having it taken through the city by the royal highway, the lord of the earth arranged the bier to be brought to the Mahāvihāra and placed there for a week at the Pañhamba-terrace. By the order of the king, the monastery and its environs for a radius of three *yojanas* were adorned with triumphal arches, flags, flowers and pitchers full of perfumes.

The whole island was likewise decorated by the power of gods.

The lord of the earth had many ceremonies performed during the week and had a perfumed pyre built at the Baddhamālaka of *theras* in the eastern direction. He had the beautiful bier brought there circumambulating the (site of the) Great Thūpa, had it placed on the pyre and performed the last rite. Having got the relics collected, he caused a *cetiya* to be built there.

one of his companions, the Thera Iṭṭhiya. Over a thousand early Brāhmi inscriptions—mainly naming donors of caves—provide invaluable information for the reconstruction of the religious and social history of Sri Lanka in three centuries before Christ.

Taking half the relics, the kṣatriya had *thūpas* built at Cetiya-pabbata and also at all the monasteries.

The place where this seer's body was laid down is respectfully called "Isibhūmangaṇa." Henceforth the remains of holy men for three *yojanas* around were brought there and cremated.

* * *

The great Therī Sanghamittā of great supernormal powers and immense wisdom performed her duties to the Faith and thereby much benefit to the people, and being fifty-nine years (from ordination) in the ninth year of the reign of the King Uttiya passed into Nibbāṇa, while residing at the peaceful Hatthāḷhaka-nunnery. The king had excellent ceremonies and honours carried out for a week for her too as for the *thera*. The whole island was decorated as for the *thera*. At the end of seven days, he caused the *therīs* body, which was placed in a bier, to be taken out of the city and cremated at a spot requested by the *therī* near the Cittasālā to the east of the Thūpārāma and in sight of the great Bodhi-tree. Uttiya of great wisdom had a *thūpa* constructed there.

* * *

The five great *theras,* too, as well as the Thera Ariṭṭha and others, likewise many thousands of Arahant *bhikkhus,* the twelve *therīs* with Sanghamittā as leader and many thousand Arahant *bhikkhuṇīs*—erudite and supremely wise—expounded the Canon of the *conqueror*—the Vinaya and the rest—and in time went under the power of impermanence.

The King Uttiya reigned for ten years. Such is impermanence, the destroyer of all worlds!

* * *

A man—who, though knowing impermanence to be impetuous, overwhelming and ineluctable, is not disgusted with the process of existence and, so discontented, does not feel any aversion to evil nor takes any delight in virtue—is indeed deluded despite his knowing: Such is the enormity of the net of excessive delusion!

The Twentieth Chapter called "The Nibbāṇa of the Thera" in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XXI

FIVE KINGS

After Uttiya's death, his younger brother, Mahāsiva, reigned ten years serving the good people. Being devoted to the Thera Bhaddasāla, he built the beautiful Nagaranganạ monastery in the eastern quarter of the city.

* * *

After the death of Mahāsiva, his younger brother, Sūratissa reigned ten years and was zealous of meritorious actions. For sixty years before and after becoming king, the lord of the earth, being devoted to the three gems, built piously and justly five hundred beautiful monasteries here and there in the island of Lankā on both sides of Gangā such as the Nagaranganạ monastery in the southern quarter, one called Hatthikkhaṇḍha and Goṇṇagirika in the east, one called Pācinapabbata on the Vanguttara-mountain, likewise Kolambahālaka near Raheraka; Makulaka at the foot of the Ariṭṭha-mountain; Acchagallaka in the east and Girinela-vāhanaka to the north of Kaṇḍanagara.

Before kingship, he was of the name Suvaṇṇapiṇda-tissa. After assumption of sovereignty, his name was Sūratissa.

* * *

Two very powerful Damiḷas, Sena and Guttaka, sons of a horse-shipper, seized Sūratissa, the ruler of the earth, and the two of them reigned twenty-two years justly.[1]

* * *

Muṭasiva's son, Asela—the ninth of brothers born of the same

---

1. This is the earliest reference to an invasion from South India. Sena and Guttaka are specifically called Damiḷa. The earliest known epigraphical reference to Tamils (i.e.as Dameḍa-Sinhala Demaḷa)is found in a Brahmi inscription in Sinhala at Anurādhapura. It is attributable on epigraphical evidence to the 2nd Century B.C.

mother—conquered them and reigned ten years from that at Anurādhapura.

* * *

The Damiḷa named Eḷāra of upright nature came here from the Coḷa-country for the sake of kingship, conquered Asela, the lord of the earth, and reigned for forty-four years, being impartial to friends and enemies during lawsuits. At the head of his bed, he had a bell hung up with a long rope so that it could be rung by those who desired a judgement.

The king had a son and a daughter. Going to the Tissa-tank in a vehicle, the son of the king killed unintentionally a young calf lying on the road with the mother cow, by driving a wheel over its neck. The cow, with her hopes shattered, went and rang the bell. The king had his son's head cut with the same wheel.

* * *

A snake devoured a fledgling on a palm-tree. The mother-bird went and rang the bell. The king had the snake brought, caused its stomach cut open and the fledgling removed and had the snake hung up on the palm-tree.

* * *

Even though ignorant of the essence of the qualities of the pre-eminent gems, the Triple Gem, the king, adhering to tradition, went to the Cetiya-pabbata and made offerings to the community of *bhikkhus*. While returning in his chariot, he damaged with the point of the yoke a part of the *conqueror's thūpa*. The ministers told him, "Majesty, our *thūpa* was damaged by you." Even though it was done unintentionally, the king alighted from the chariot and lay down on the path saying, "Sever my head too with the wheel." They replied, "O great king, our *teacher* does not approve of violence. Seek pardon by restoring the *thūpa*." To

replace the fifteen stones that fell there, he gave exactly fifteen thousand *kahāpaṇas*.

* * *

An old woman spread out some rice to dry it in the sun. It rained out of season and dampened the rice. Taking the rice, she went and rang the bell. Hearing of the unseasonal rain, he sent her away and undertook a fast in order to dispense justice to her, thinking, "When the king observes justice, seasonal rain might be obtained." The oblation-receiving deity, being overwhelmed by the king's power of penance, went to the four great guardian gods and informed about it. They took him to Sakka and informed him. Sakka summoned Pajjuna and counselled him rain in due season. The oblation-receiving deity informed the king of it. Henceforth, in his kingdom, it did not rain during the day. It rained once a week during the middle watch of the night. Even the small cisterns all over were full.

* * *

Even though not liberated from false views, by merely being free of the blemish of resorting to injustice, he attained this sort of miraculous power. How therefore, may not a wise man here, who is established in pure views, abandon the blemish of resorting to injustice?"

The Twenty-first Chapter called "Five Kings" in the *Mahāvaṃsa* compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

THE BIRTH OF PRINCE GĀMANI

Having killed Eḷāra, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi became king. Here is the story in due order to elucidate this matter.

* * *

The second brother of the king Devānaṃpiyatissa, the sub-king named Mahānāga, was dear to his brother. The foolish queen of the king, coveting the kingship for her son, nursed constantly the thought of killing the sub-king. She sent a poisoned mango, having placed it on top of the mangoes, to the sub-king who was getting the tank called Taraccha constructed.

Her own young son, who had accompanied the sub-king, ate that mango, as soon as the container was opened, and died. Then and there, the sub-king with his wives, army and cavalry, departed towards Rohaṇa to save himself.

His chief consort, who was pregnant, gave birth to a son at the Yaṭṭhālaya-monastery. He gave his brother's name (i.e.Tissa) to the child. Going from there to Rohaṇa, the Kṣatriya of great fortune, as the lord of the whole of Rohaṇa, ruled at Mahāgama. He founded the Nāgamahā-vihāra after his own name and many other monasteries such as Uddhakandara.

On his death, his son Yaṭṭhālaytakatissa reigned there itself and likewise the latter's son Abhaya (i.e. Goṭhābhaya), Goṭhābhaya's son was known as Kākavaṇṇatissa. After Goṭhābhaya's death, this Kṣatriya reigned there. His chief queen was named Vihāradevi, the pious daụghter of the pious king of Kalyāṇī.

* * *

The lord of men of Kalyāṇi was a Kṣatriya by the name of Tissa who was angered by the alliance of his queen.[1] His younger

1. The *Mahāvaṃsa* usually glosses over details of episodes which the general public of the time were presumed to know as a part of their literary heritage. This episode deals with the king of Kalyāṇī, whose wife had a clandestine love affair with his younger brother. An innocent Arahant was tortured to death as the king suspected him of carrying a letter from the lover to the queen.

brother named Ayya-Uttika, being frightened, fled from there and resided elsewhere.

By that, the region was called after his name.

He gave a secret letter to a man bearing the guise of a *bhikkhu* and sent him to the queen. He went and, standing at the palace door, entered the king's abode, unnoticed, with the Arahant *thera,* who used to take his meals every day at the palace. On leaving with the king after having eaten with the *thera,* the man in the guise of a *bhikkhu* dropped the letter on the ground while the queen was looking on.

At the sound, the king turned around and seeing it, came to know the message in the letter. Enraged against the *thera,* he, being irrational, had the *thera* and the man killed on account of anger and had them hurled into a sea. The deities, being angered by it, caused the sea to overflow the land.

The lord of the earth with all speed got his pure and beautiful daughter called Devi placed on a golden vessel, on which was written 'A king's daughter', and launched it upon the same sea. The lord of the earth, Kākavaṇṇa then consecrated her who landed at the Tolaka-monastery.

By that was she called by the epithet, Vihāra (Monastery).

* * *

He had such monasteries as Tissamahārāma, Cittalapabbata, Gamiyṭṭhavāli and Kūṭali founded and, with a mind well-pleased in the Triple Gem, tended the Sangha constantly with the four-fold requisites.

In the Koṭapabata-monastery, at that time, was a *sāmaṇera* of virtuous conduct who forever performed various meritiorious deeds. To facilitate ascending to the compound of the Ākāsacetiya, he fixed three slabs of stone in the stairway. He gave drinking water and performed services to the Sangha. Since his body was constantly wearied, a grievous ailment came upon him.

The grateful *bhikkhu* brought him in a litter and tended him at the Tissa-monastery in the Silāpassaya-cell. The self-controlled Vihāradevi, before her midday meal, held everyday a great almsgiving for the Sangha in the well-adorned palace and, after the meal, went to the monastery taking perfumes,garlands, medicine and robes; she offered them to the Sangha as appropriate.

Once, she did likewise and sat by the chief *thera* of the Sangha. Preaching the Dhamma, the *thera* told her, "This great prosperity has been obtained by you on account of meritorious actions. Now, too, diligence must be exercised as regards meritorious actions."

Being so spoken to, she said, "What prosperity is this here to us who have no children? Our prosperity is barren." The great *thera* possessing the six supernormal powers foresaw her getting sons and said, "O queen, see that sick *sāmaṇera.*" She went to the *sāmaṇera* on the verge of death and told him, "Wish for being my son, for our fortune is great."

Knowing that he did not desire it, the eminently wise queen held a great and splendid offering of flowers for his sake and begged of him again. For the sake of him, who was even then unwilling, she, knowing the right means, offered the Sangha various medicines and garments and begged of him.

He wished for the royal family.[2] She decorated that place in various ways, worshipped him and, mounting a vehicle, departed. Passing away from there, the *sāmaṇera* came into being in the womb of the queen who was going. She knew it and halted. She sent that message to the king and returned with him.

Having got the cremation of the *sāmaṇera* done, both of them, with becalmed minds, took residence in that cell itself and held sumptuous alms-givings to the community of *bhikkhus* every day.

* * *

To the queen of great merit, there came the following craving: she longed to lie on her right side in a beautiful bed with a honeycomb of the size of a

2. That is, to be reborn in it as a son of the queen.

bull at the head of the bed and, after giving of it to twelve thousand *bhikkhus*, to partake of honey. She also craved to drink while trampling his very head the water in which was washed the sword that beheaded the chief warrior among the king Eḷāra's soldiers and to wear a garland of unfaded water lilies brought from the waterlily-fields of Anurādhapura.

The queen informed the king and the lord of the earth asked the soothsayers. Hearing it they said, "The queen's son will vanquish the Damiḷas and, unifying the kingdom, will make the Faith shine."

The lord of the earth had it announced that the king would give so much wealth to anyone who would point out such a honeycomb. A man from the region, who knew of an upturned boat filled with money on the shore of the Goṭha-sea informed the king. The king took the queen there and, in a well-decorated pavilion, arranged her to partake of the honey as she desired.

To provide for her other cravings, the lord of the earth charged the warrior Veḷusumana with the matter. He went to Anurādhapura, established friendship with the keeper of the king's state-horse and daily did his duties. Aware of his confidence, Veḷusumana without any apprehension kept the waterlilies and the sword on the bank of the Kadamba-river, led the horse out, mounted it, took the water-lilies and the sword, announced himself and departed at the speed of the horse.

Hearing it, the king sent his great warrior to catch him. Mounting the horse that was acclaimed to be the second in speed, he pursued Veḷusumana. Hiding in a thicket, he, while being seated on the horse itself, drew out the sword and stretched it toward his pursuer. The head severed off him who was going at the speed of the horse. Taking both horses and the head, he reached Mahāgāma in the evening. The queen satisfied these cravings too as she wished. The king conferred honours on the warrior as appropriate.

* * *

In due time, the queen delivered a noble and fortunate son. At that time, there was immense joy in the family of the great king.

By the power of his merit, there arrived that very day from here and there seven ships filled with various precious stones. By the same power of his merit, an elephant of the six-tusked family brought a young elephant, left it here and departed. A fisherman named Kaṇḍula saw it standing inside a thicket on the other side of the ford and informed the king instantly. The king sent trainers, had it brought and reared it.

As it was seen by Kaṇḍula, it was known as Kaṇḍula.

They informed the king, "A ship filled with vessels of gold has arrived here." He had them brought to him.

* * *

For the naming ceremony of his son, the lord of the earth invited the community of *bhikkhus* numbering twelve thousand and thought, "If my son were to gain the sovereignty of the whole land of Lankā and cause the Faith of the *Buddha* shine, let just one thousand and eight *bhikkhus* enter; let them all wear the robe with the alms-bowl exposed, let them place the right foot inside the threshold; and let them lay aside the water strainer with a single covering. Let the *thera* named Gotama receive the son and let him also administer the refuges and the precepts." All happened exactly.

Being of a happy mind on seeing all the omens, the lord of the earth offered milk-rice to the Sangha and named the son Gāmaṇi-Abhaya, bringing together both the lordship over Mahāgāma and his father's name.

* * *

On the ninth day from this, the king entered Mahāgāma and had intercourse with the queen. By that she conceived. The king named the son, who was born in due course, Tissa. With a large retinue, the two boys grew up.

* * *

At the weaning ceremony, the lord of the earth, full of pious zeal, along with the queen, had milk-rice offered to five hundred *bhikkhus*. Taking a little from what was half-eaten by the *bhikkhus*, he gave it to them in a golden vessel saying, "Little sons, if you abandon the Faith of the *Buddha*, let this not digest in your stomach". Understanding the meaning of what was said, both the royal princes ate the milk-rice with a happy mind as if it was ambrosia.

* * *

When they were ten and twelve years old, the lord of the earth fed the *bhikkhus* as before, took the left-over rice, had it placed in a dish near the two sons divided it into three portions and, with a view to testing them said, "Dear ones, eat this portion thinking, 'We will not turn away from the *bhikkhus*, the guardian deities of our family.' Eat this portion thinking, 'We two brothers will for ever be without mutual hostility'." Both of them ate the two portions as if it was ambrosia.

When they were told thus, "Eat this thinking, 'We will not fight with the Damiḷas'," Tissa dashed the food away with his hand. But Gāmaṇi threw away the handful of rice, went to his bed and lay down on the bed by himself, drawing in his hands and feet. The queen went and caressing Gāmaṇi spoke thus: 'Son, why don't you sleep on the bed comfortably with your limbs stretched out?' He answered, "On the other side of Gangā are the Damiḷas and on this side the Goṭha-ocean. How can I lie down with my limbs outstretched?" The lord of the earth heard his intention and remained silent.

* * *

Growing steadily, he became sixteen years old and was full of merit, fame and wisdom and majestic, powerful and valourous.

* * *

In this fickle and changing existence, indeed, beings through merit attain an existence as desired. Considering it to be so, may the wise be excessively zealous in the acquisition of merit.

The Twenty-second Chapter called "The Birth of Prince Gāmaṇi" in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, compiled for the serene, joy and emotion of the pious.

THE LEVYING OF WARRIORS

The elephant Kaṇḍula, whose body was enormous, was foremost in strength, features and form and in qualities of majesty and speed.

Nandhimitta, Sūranimila, Mahāsoṇa, Goṭhaimbara, Theraputtābhaya, Bharaṇa, Veḷusumana, likewise also Khañjadeva, Phussadeva and Labhiyavasabha—these ten warriors of his were very mighty.

* * *

The king Eḷāra had a general named Mitta. In his fief, the eastern Khaṇḍarāji, near Citta-mountain, there was his sister's son, whose genitals were hidden in a sheath and who was named after the uncle himself. They tied the young child, who used to crawl too far, with a thong by the waist and fastened him to a grind-stone.

Since, as he crawled on the ground dragging the grind-stone, the thong broke on crossing the threshold, he was known as Nandhimitta (Thong-Mitta).

He had the strength of ten elephants. When grown up, he came to the city and served his uncle. At that time, when Damiḷas desecrated *thūpas*, etc., this strong man would trample one thigh with his foot, take the other with his hand, tear the Damiḷas asunder and throw them out. The gods made the dead body, so thrown, to vanish. Observing the reduction of Damiḷas, they informed the king about it. Being told "Catch him red-handed," they were unable to do it.

Nandhimitta thought, "Even as I do like this, there is only a reduction of people; but not the glory of the Faith. In Rohaṇa are kṣatriyas who are pleased in the Triple Gem. I shall serve the king there,

capture all the Damiḷas, confer sovereignty to the kṣatriya and add lustre to the Faith." Thus thinking, he went and announced himself to the prince Gāmaṇi. Having consulted the mother,the prince honoured him. Being honoured, the warrior Nandhimitta dwelt near the prince.

* * *

In order to check the Damiḷas, the king Kākavaṇṇa-Tissa had a sentry posted constantly at every ford of the great Gangā. The king had a son named Dīghābhaya by another wife. The sentry-post at Kacchaka-ford on the Gangā was maintained by him. To mount the sentry, he enlisted a son from each noble family within a radius of two *yojanas*.

In the village of Khaṇḍakaviṭṭhika in the region of Koṭṭivāla was a chief named Sangha, the head of a family with seven sons. The prince sent him also an envoy demanding a son. His seventh son, Nimila by name, had the strength of ten elephants.

Being vexed by his lazy nature, his six brothers liked his going; but not so the mother and the father. Getting angry with his brothers, he went three *yojanas* very early in the morning and saw the prince exactly at sunrise.

To test him, the prince entrusted to him a task far away, "In the village of Dvāramaṇḍala near Cetiya-mountain, there is my friend, a brahman by the name of Kuṇḍali. He has merchandise from overseas. You go and bring here the goods which will be given by him." Saying this, the prince made him take his meal and sent him away.

He went in the forenoon itself to Anurādhapura which was nine *yojanas* from there, and saw the brahman. The brahman said, "Dear one, bathe in the tank and come back." As he had not come here before, he bathed in the Tissa-tank, paid homage to the Bodhi-tree and the *cetiya* at Thūpārāma, entered the city, saw the whole city, brought perfumes in the bazaar, left from there by the northern gate, picked water lilies from the water lily field and returned to the brahman.

Being questioned, he told the brahman of his trip. The brahman heard about his earlier journey and this journey and, being amazed, thought thus "This is a steed of a man. If Eḷāra were to know, he will take him in his hand. It is not proper for him, therefore, to live near the Damiḷas. He deserves to live near the father of the prince."

He wrote exactly thus and handed him a letter. He also gave him Puṇṇavaḍḍhana-garments and many presents, treated him to a meal and sent him to his friend. He reached the presence of the prince as shadows were growing long and handed over the letter and the presents.

Being pleased, he said, "Show satisfaction with a thousand to him."

The other servitors of the prince envied him. The prince showed the boy satisfaction with ten thousand. They had his hair cut, got him bathed in the Gangā itself, had him dressed with a pair of Puṇṇavaḍḍana-garments, a beautiful fragrant garland and a silken turban around the head and brought him to the prince.

The kṣatriya had food given to the warrior on the same scale as for himself and had his own beautiful bed worth ten thousand assigned to him to sleep.

He gathered all these together and took them to his parents. He gave the ten thousand to the mother and the bed to the father. That very night he returned and showed himself at the sentry-post. At dawn, the prince heard of it and was pleased.

The prince gave the warrior provisions as well as an escort and ten thousand and sent him to his father. The warrior took ten thousand and gave it to his father and mother and went to the king Kākavaṇṇa-Tissa. The lord of the earth handed him to the prince Gāmaṇi. Being honoured, the warrior Sūranimila dwelt near him.

* * *

In the village of Hundarī-tank in the Kuḷumbari-district, the eighth son of Tissa was named Soṇa. Even at the age of seven years, he uprooted young palms. Being very powerful, at the age of ten years, he uprooted palm-trees. In time, this Mahāsoṇa, too, became as strong as ten elephants. The king heard that he was like that took him from his father and being intent on nourishing him, gave him to the prince Gāmaṇi. Receiving honours from him, the warrior dwelt near him.

* * *

In the village Niṭṭhulaviṭṭhika in the Giri-region, the son of Mahānāga was as strong as ten elephants. On account of his dwarfish stature, he was named Goṭhaka. His six elder brothers teased him. They went and cleared the forest for a field of beans. Having left his share, they went and informed him. He went that very moment, uprooted the trees called *imbara*, levelled the ground, returned and informed them. His brothers went, saw that wondrous work and came to him praising his work.

> For this reason he was named Goṭhaimbara.

In like manner, the king had him also dwell near Gāmaṇ.

* * *

The chief of Kittigāma near Koṭa-mountain, a householder called Rohaṇa, named the son born to him after the king Goṭhakābhaya. The boy was so strong that when he was ten or twelve years he, while playing, threw about like balls stones which four or five could not lift. When he was sixteen years old, his father had a club thirty-eight finger breadths round and sixteen hands long made for him. With that he smote the trunks of palm-trees and coconut palms. By that he became renowned as a warrior. In like manner the king had him also dwell near Gāmaṇi.

His father was a supporter of the Thera Mahāsumma. The householder heard the Dhamma from the Thera Mahāsumma at the Koṭa-mountain monastery and attained the Fruit of the Stream-winner. Moved by religious emotion, he informed the king, gave the household to the son and obtained ordination from the *thera*. He engaged himself in meditation and attained Arahant-hood.

> By that, his son was known as Thera-puttābhaya (Abhaya, the son of the *thera*)

* * *

In the village of Kappakandara, Kumāra had a son named Bharaṇa. When he was ten or twelve years old, he went with the boys into the forest and chased many hares. Kicking with the foot, he felled them to the ground in two pieces. At sixteen years of age, he went into the forest with the villagers and felled quickly antelopes, elks and boars in like manner. By that itself Bharaṇa was renowned as a great warrior. In like manner, the king had him also dwell near Gāmaṇi.

* * *

In the village of Kuṭumbiyangaṇa in the region named Giri, was a householder called Vasabha who was held in high esteem there. The country-man Veḷa and Sumana, the overlord of Giri, came carrying presents when their friend had a son and the two of them gave their own names to the boy.

When he grew up, the overlord of Giri got him to live in his own house. He had a Sindh-horse that would not allow any man to mount it. When it saw Veḷusumana, it thought, "Here is a rider worthy of me" and being pleased, neighed.

Knowing it the overlord told him, "Mount the horse." He mounted the horse and made it gallop speedily in a circle. It looked as if the horse was welded as one into the whole circle. He sat on the

back of the gallopping horse like a chain of men and removed and put on his cloak nonchalantly. Seeing him, all the bystanders cheered him.

The overlord of Giri rewarded him with ten thousand and, being pleased that he was fit for the king, gave him to the king. The king conferred honours on Veḷusumana and, favouring him greatly, got him to dwell close to him.

* * *

In the village of Mahisadoṇika in the Nakulanaga-district, Abhaya's youngest son, endowed with great strength, was named Deva.

> On account of his being a little lame, they knew him as Khañjadeva (Lame Deva).

Then the young man went hunting with the village-folk, pursued huge buffaloes that happened to come in his way, grasped them by the leg with his hand, whirled them round his head and dashed them on the ground, pulverising their bones.

The lord of the earth heard this news, had Khañjadeva brought to him and made him dwell near Gāmaṇi.

* * *

In the village of Gaviṭa near Cittalapabbata, Uppala's son was Phussadeva by name. The child went to the monastery with the children and, taking a conch, which had been offered to the Bodhi-tree, blew it powerfully. Its sound was as loud as the sound of a thunderbolt. All the children were frightened as if they were insane.

> By that he became renowned as Ummāda-Phussadeva (Phussadeva, the Maddening)

* * *

His father taught him the art of archery, which

which had been handed down in the family, and he became a shooter by sound and lightning and a shooter of tail-hair.[1] He used to pierce with an arrow a cart full of sand, hundred hides bound together, a plank of *asana* or *udumbara* of eight or sixteen finger-breadths, and likewise a plate of iron or bronze of two or four finger-breadths. An arrow shot by him used to fly eight *usabhas* over land but one *usabha* in water. The king heard this news from his father, sent for him and made him live with Gāmaṇi.

* * *

In the village of Vihāravāpi near Tulādhāra-mountain, the householder Matta's son was Vasabha by name.

> On account of his nobly formed body, they knew him as Labhiya-Vasabha (Vasabha the Gifted).

At the age of twenty he was mighty in physical strength. Taking only a few men he started on a great tank to serve fields. While making it, he of great strength carried loads of earth which could be carried by ten or twelve men and finished the tank quickly.

By this he was renowned. The ruler of the earth got him also and having conferred honours on him, gave him to Gāmaṇi. That field was known as Vasabha's Dam. Thus Labhiya-Vasabha dwelt near Gāmaṇi.

* * *

The lord of the earth then conferred the same honours on these

---

1. Traditional tests of skills in archery: shooting in the dark with the sound as the only aid to taking aim; shooting an object with the aid of a flash of lightning; and splitting the hair of horse's tail.

ten warriors[2] on his son. The lord of the directions summoned the great warriors and ordered, "Each one of you find ten warriors." They brought warriors as commanded. The lord of the earth again told these hundred warriors to levy likewise.
They brought warriors as commanded. The lord of the earth again told these thousand warriors to levy likewise. They brought warriors as commanded. All of them, reckoned together, were eleven thousand one hundred and ten warriors. All of them, receiving forever honours from the ruler of the earth, lived surrounding the prince Gāmaṇi.

* * *

May a wise man, desirous of happiness, having heard thus the marvel wrought by pious life, take delight constantly in the path of virtue, desisting from the path of evil.

The Twenty-third Chapter called "The Levying of Warriors" in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

2. The historicity of the ten paladins of Duṭṭagāmaṇi-Abhaya is confirmed by contemporary Brāhmi inscriptions which name donations to the Buddhist Faith by them or their families in respect of at least four of them. Mentioned in these inscriptions are Nandhimitta, Phussadeva, Puttābhaya and Veḷusumana. They had held important administrative positions after the war.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE WAR OF THE TWO BROTHERS

The prince Gāmaṇi, proficient in handling elephants and horses and swordmanship and skilled in archery, lived then in Mahāgāma. The king made the prince Tissa at Dīghavāpi to guard the region which was replete with troops and chariots.

In time, the prince Gāmaṇi, reviewing his own army, had it announced to his father, the king, "May I fight with the Damiḷas?" Protecting him, the king prevented it saying, "This side of the Gangā is enough." Upto three times he had it so announced.

"If my father were a man, he would not speak like this. Therefore, let him wear this," saying so, he sent the king a female ornament. The king was enraged, "Make a gold chain. With that I will bind him. He cannot be protected in any other way." Enraged with the father, he fled to Malaya.

Specially on account of his being bad to the father, they called him "Duṭṭha-Gāmaṇi" (Gāmaṇi the wicked)

* * *

Then the king began building the Mahāduggala-cetiya. When the *cetiya* was completed, the lord of the earth had the Sangha assembled. Twelve thousand *bhikkhus* from Cittalapabbata and exactly twelve thousand from here and there arrived there. Having celebrated the Cetiya-festival, the king brought together all the warriors in front of the Sangha and then made them take an oath, saying, "We shall not go to the battle-field of the sons." All took that oath. As a result they did not go to that war.

The lord of the earth had sixty-four monasteries built and, having lived as many years, he died. The queen got the king's body brought in a covered vehicle to the Tissa-mahārāma and informed that to the Sangha.

* * *

The prince Tissa heard of it, went from Dīghavāpi and performed himself the funeral rites of the father well. He with a great army took the mother and the elephant Kaṇḍula and, for fear of

his brother, went from there to Dīghavāpi quickly. All the ministers assembled, gave a letter to communicate this matter and sent (a messenger) to the presence of Duṭṭhagāmani. He came to Guttahāla, despatched his agents there, reached Mahāgāma and had himself consecrated. Demanding the mother and Kaṇḍula, he sent his brother a letter. Not receiving them even at the third letter he set forth for battle.

The great war of the two of them took place at Cūlangaṇiya-paiṭṭhi. There, many thousands of the king's men fell. The king, his minister Tissa and the mare Dīghathūnika—all three of them—took flight. The prince pursued them.

The *bhikkhus* created a mountain between the two. He saw it and turned back, thinking, "This is the work of the community of *bhikkhus*".

* * *

Duṭṭhagāmaṇi came to the Javamāla-ford of the Kappa-kandara-river. The king told the minister Tissa, "We are famished." He offered him rice in a golden vessel.Since he took meals after giving food to the Sangha, he divided the rice into four portions and said, "Announce the time." Tissa announced the time.

Hearing it by means of his divine ear while staying in Piyangudīpa, the *thera* who was the preceptor of the king, sent there the Thera Tissa, the householder's son. Tissa took the almsbowl from the *thera's* hand and gave it to the king. The king had the share of the Sangha and his own share put into the almsbowl. Tissa put in his share also. The mare too, did not wish to have her share. Tissa put her share also into the almsbowl.

The lord of the earth gave the almsbowl full of rice to the *thera*. He went quickly and gave it to the Thera Gotama. The *thera* gave the rice in handfuls to the five hundred *bhikkhus* who were taking their meal. With portions obtained from them, the *thera* filled the almsbowl and threw it to the sky for the king. Tissa saw it come, took it and fed the king. Having eaten the rice himself, Tissa also fed the mare. The king made a pot-holder with his accoutrement and sent the almsbowl away.

* * *

Duṭṭhagāmani went to Mahāgāma and, taking an army of sixty-thousand, went and fought with his brother. The king riding the mare and Tissa the elephant Kaṇḍula, the two brothers, fighting in battle then, came together. The king made the elephant stand in the middle and got the mare to circle it. Not seeing any vulnerable point even then, he made up his mind to have the mare leap over. Getting the mare to leap over the elephant, he threw the spear at the brother in such a way as to injure the skin of the back.

There, fighting in the battle, many thousands of the prince fell. His great army itself was scattered. The elephant was angry thinking "Due to the incompetence of my rider, a female surpassed me" and, dislodging the prince, it approached a tree. The prince climbed the tree and the elephant went to its master. The king mounted it and pursued the fleeing prince.

* * *

The prince entered a monastery, went into the cell of the chief *thera* and, out of fear of the brother, lay down under the bed. The chief *thera* spread a robe on that bed. The king followed the prince and asked the *thera*, "Where is Tissa?" The *thera* told him, "Great king, he is not on the bed."

The king knew that he was under the bed and, departing from there, placed guards around the monastery. Four young monks got the prince to lie down on a bed, put a robe over him, took hold of the bed by its legs and carried him out in the guise of a dead *bhikkhu*.

But the lord of the earth knew that he was being carried and told him thus: "Tissa, you are being carried on the head of our family-deities. It is not for me to take you by force from the family-deities. You should forever remember the virtue of the family-deities."

* * *

From there the lord of earth went to Mahāgāma. Being reverential to the mother, he got her down. The lord of the earth, with

his mind firmly set in the Dhamma, lived sixty-eight years and had sixty-eight monasteries established.

* * *

Taken out by the *bhikkhus*, the prince Tissa left from there and went *incognito* to Dīghavāpi. The prince told the Thera Godhagatta-Tissa, "I am at fault, Venerable Sir, I will ask my brother to forgive me."

The *thera* went to the king along with five hundred *bhikkhus* as well as Tissa in the guise of a servitor. Leaving the prince at the top of the staircase, the *thera* accompanied by the Sangha entered. The ruler of the earth had them seated and brought gruel etc. The *thera* covered the almsbowl. Being asked "Why?" he said, "We have brought Tissa."

Being asked, "Where is the thief?" He told him the place where the prince was. Vihāradevi went and stood sheltering her younger son. The king told the *thera*, "Is it now that you know that we are your servants? If you had sent a seven-year old *sāmaṇera*, our strife would have ceased without any loss of people at all." "O king, it is the fault of the Sangha. The Sangha will do penance."

"The mission you came on will be accomplished. Accept the gruel etc."

He offered the gruel to the community of *bhikkhus* and called his brother. There itself seated with the brother in the midst of the Sangha, he took his meal together and sent away the community of *bhikkhus*. To the same place, he sent Tissa to develop agriculture. The king himself announced by beat of drum and had agriculture developed.

* * *

Thus do good men appease even great hatred, accumulated through various means. Contemplating this, which wise man will not be of a well-appeased mind towards others?

The Twenty-fourth Chapter called "The War of the Two Brothers" in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

Chapter XXV

THE VICTORY OF DUṬṬHAGĀMAṆI

Then the king Duṭṭagāmaṇi assured the welfare of the people, had a relic enshrined in his spear, went to Tissamahārāma along with his chariots, infantry and cavalry, worshipped the Sangha and said, "I shall go to the further bank of the Gangā to make the Faith shine forth. Give us *bhikkhus* who will go with us, for the sight of *bhikkhus* will be a blessing as well as a protection to us."

As an act of penance, the Sangha gave him five hundred recluses. Taking that community of *bhikkhus*, the lord of the earth departed from there and had the road in Malaya leading here (i.e. Anurādhapura) cleared. He mounted the elephant Kaṇḍula and, surrounded by the warriors, set out for war, along with a mighty army. The column reached Guttahāla, while being still attached to Mahāgāma.

* * *

He came to Mahiyangaṇa and captured the Damiḷa Chatta. Having killed the Damiḷas there, he reached Ambatitthaka, which had a moat connected with the Gangā. Waging war on the powerful and experienced Damiḷa, Titthamba, he showed his mother and captured him by that trickery.

Descending from there, he conquered in one day seven mighty Damiḷa kings. He of mighty power established peace and gave over the booty to his army.

By that, it was known as Khemārāma
(the Garden of Peace).

He captured Mahākoṭṭha at Antarāsobbha, Gavara at Doṇa, Issariya at Hālakola and Nāḷika at Nāḷisobbha. He also subdued Dīghābhaya at Dīghābhayagallaka; He took Kapisīsa at Kacchatittha in four months. He further subdued Koṭa at Koṭanagara, and thence Hālavahānaka, the Damiḷa Vahiṭṭha at Vahiṭṭha, Gāmaṇi at Gāmaṇi, Kumba at Kumbagāma, Nandika at Nandigāma, Khānu at Khānugāma, the uncle and nephew Tamba and Unnama at Tambunnama and Jambu. Each village was called after each of them.

The lord of the earth heard, "Not knowing one's own army, they kill their own men." Then he made an affirmation of the truth, "This effort of mine is not for the joy of sovereignty; it is for the establishment of the Faith of the Buddha forever. By this truth, let the articles worn on the body of my troops take the colour of fire." Then it came to pass exactly in that manner.

All the Damiḷas on the bank of the Gangā, who escaped death, entered for refuge Vijitanagara. In a convenient clearing, he pitched a camp.

It came to be known as Khandhāvārapiṭṭhi (The Plain of the Camp)

* * *

While reconnoitring to capture Vijitapura, the ruler of men let loose Kaṇḍula upon Nandhimitta who was approaching. As the elephant came to take him, Nandhimitta seized both its tusks with his hands and made it sit on its haunches.

As the elephant and Nandhimitta fought there, the village is called Hathipora (Elephant Fight?)

Having tested both, the king marched to Vijitanagara. At the southern gate, there was a fierce encounter of warriors. At the eastern gate, Veḷusumana on horse-back slew Damiḷas in great numbers.

The Damiḷas shut the gate and the king sent his warriors. Kaṇḍula, Nandhimitta and Sūranimila at the southern gate and the three Mahāsoṇa, Goṭha and Theraputta—at the other three gates—then, did their deeds.

The city had three moats and was protected by a high wall. The gate worked in iron was difficult to be destroyed by enemies. The elephant knelt down, broke with its tusks the stones, the mortar and the bricks and charged at the iron door. The Damiḷas, standing on the gate-tower, hurled down various weapons, heated balls of irons and molten pitch.

When the smoking pitch was poured on its back, Kaṇḍula, tormented with pain, went to a pool of water and dived there. Goṭha imbara said, "This is not your drinking party—the battering of the iron gate. Go, batter the gate" The noble elephant took pride, trumpeted, got out of the water and stood on land defiantly.

The elephant's physician then washed away the pitch and applied medicine. The king mounted the elephant and, stroking its forehead with his hand, said, "Dear Kaṇḍula, I give you the sovereignty of the entire island of Lankā." Having cheered it on and got it fed with excellent fodder, he had it wrapped with a shawl and well-clad in armour. Having had a seven-fold buffalo hide tied on its skin, he made an oil-soaked hide to be placed above and released the elephant.

Roaring like thunder and daring dangers, it went, pierced the gate-panels with its tusks, and struck the threshold with its foot. With an uproar, the gate crashed to the ground with the jambs.

Nandhimitta struck with his arms and intercepted the debris of the gate tower, which was falling on the back of the elephant. Seeing this deed, Kaṇḍula, with a pleased mind, abandoned the hatred over the seizure by the tusks, which it had earlier nursed. So that the warrior might enter behind it, Kaṇḍula, the best of elephants, turned around and looked at him there. Nandhimitta thought, "I shall not enter by the way opened by the elephant" and struck the wall with his arm. Eight *usabhas* eighteen cubits high fell down.

It looked at Sūranimila. He too did not wish to take that path and leaped over the wall into the city. Goṭha and Soṇa entered, each breaking a gate.

The elephant seized a cart-wheel, Mitta a chariot-frame, Goṭha a coconut-palm, Nimila an excellent sword, Mahāsoṇa a palmyra-palm, Theraputta his great club and rushing to the streets separately pulverized the Damiḷas there.

The kṣatriya demolished Vijitanagara in four months, went to Girilaka and slew the Damiḷa Giriya. From there he went to Mahelanagara, which was difficult to penetrate on account of having one gate and three great moats and being surrounded all over by *kadambapuppha*-creepers. Staying there for months, the ruler of the earth conquered the king Mahela by a war of diplomacy.

* * *

Coming towards Anurādhapura from there, the lord of the earth pitched camp beyond Kāsa-mountain. In the month of Jeṭṭhamūla (May-June), he had a pond made there and held a water-festival. There, the village was called Pajjotanagara.

Hearing that the king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi had come for war, Eḷāra, the lord of the earth, assembled his ministers and told them, "This king is himself a warrior. He also has many warriors. What do my ministers think? What should really be done? The warriors of Eḷārā, starting with Dīghajantu, resolved, "We will give battle tomorrow."

The king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi also consulted with his mother and, according to her idea, the king formed thirty-two fortresses and placed within them parasol-bearers and effigies of the king. The lord of the earth, himself, stood in the innermost fortress.

The king Eḷāra, donning armour, mounted the elephant Mahāpabbata and came there along with his chariots, infantry and cavalry.

When the battle ensued, mighty and terrible Dīghajantu seized his sword and shield and, while fighting, leaped eighteen cubits into the air, hewed with the sword the king's effigy and demolished the first fortress. He of great power demolished in this manner the other fortresses also and approached the fortress where Duṭṭhagāmaṇi stood.

The mighty warrior Sūranimila announced his own name to Dīghajantu who was going onto the king and insulted him. Being enraged, he rose to the sky thinking, "I might kill him." The other held out the shield as he alighted. Thinking, "I cleave him along with the shield," Dīghajantu struck the shield with the sword. The other let go the shield. Cleaving the shield that was released, Dīghajantu fell there. Sūranimila got up and struck with his spear the fallen Dīghajantu.

Phussadeva blew his conch and the Damiḷa army dispersed. Eḷāra, too, turned back. They killed many Damiḷas.

> The water in the lake there was stained with the blood of the slain. Therefore was 'it known by the name of Kulatthivāpi (The lentil-tank).

* * *

Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, the lord of the earth, announced by the beat of drum, "None but myself shall strike Eḷāra." Having donned the armour himself, he mounted the armoured elephant Kaṇḍula and, pursuing Eḷāra, came to the southern gate.

At the southern gate of the city, the two rulers of the earth

fought. Eḷāra hurled his spear and Gāmaṇi evaded it. He made his own elephant to pierce Eḷāra's elephant with its tusks and hurled the spear at Eḷāra. With the elephant, he fell.

Being victorious in battle, he with chariots, infantry and cavalry, brought Lankā under one parasol and entered the city. Announcing by the beat of the drum in the city, he had the people for a radius of a *yojana* assembled and paid homage to the king Eḷāra. At the place where the body fell, he had it cremated in a pyre. He got a *cetiya* built there and ordered reverence.

> *By that order of reverence, even today the lords of Lanka approaching that area, silence their music.*

Thus Duṭṭhagāmaṇi subdued thirty-two Damiḷa kings and brought the kingdom of Lanka under one parasol.

* * *

When Vijitanagara was demolished, the warrior Dīghajantu informed Eḷāra of his nephew's valour and sent for his nephew Bhalluka to come here. Listening to him, Bhalluka landed here with sixty thousand men on the seventh day from the cremation of Eḷāra.

Although, on landing he heard of the fall of his king, he came here from Mahātittha out of shame, thinking, "I shall fight". He pitched camp in the village of Kolambahālaka.

The king heard of his arrival. Donning his battle-armour and replete with elephants, horses, chariots, warriors and foot–soldiers, he mounted the elephant Kaṇḍula and set out for battle. Ummādaphussadeva, the best archer in the island, armed with five weapons, and other warriors followed him.

As the great battle continued, Bhalluka in armour came there face to face with the king. Kaṇḍula, the king of elephants, retreated slowly so as to diminish Bhalluka's speed. With it, the army, too, withdrew slowly.

The king asked, "So far in twenty-eight battles, it did not retreat. What is this, Phussadeva?" He said, "Our victory, majesty, will be overwhelming. Looking for our place of victory, does this elephant withdraw. It will stand on the place of victory." the elephant retreated and stood steadfastly beside the guardian deity of the city, within the precincts of the Mahāvihāra.

When the king of the elephants stood there, the Damiḷa Bhalluka came face to face with the king and ridiculed the lord of the earth. Covering the mouth with the sword, the king insulted him. He shot an arrow thinking, "I will let it fall in his mouth." The arrow hit the blade of the sword and fell on the ground. Thinking, "He was shot in the mouth," Bhalluka uttered a shout of joy. Mighty Phussedeva who was seated behind the king shot an arrow, touching the king's earring, into Bhalluka's mouth.

As he was falling with his feet towards the king, Phussadeva, with a swift hand, shot another arrow at his knee and made him fall with the head towards the king. When Bhalluka fell, a cry of triumph prevailed.

* * *

To acknowledge there itself his fault, Phussadeva cut his ear-lobe and showed himself to the king with blood streaming down. Seeing it, the king asked him, "What is this?" "I have carried out the punishment of the king," he told the lord of the earth. Being asked, "What was your crime?" he said, "Brother, why did you do so taking what was not a crime as a crime," and added, "There will be great honours to you in keeping with your arrow."

* * *

The king who gained victory after killing all the Damiḷas went from there to the terrace of the palace and, seated on the throne amidst ministers and dancers, had the arrow of Phussadeva brought and placed erect on its point on the ground. He covered the arrow with *kahāpaṇas* which were poured over and over on it and gave them to Phussadeva at that moment.

Then, seated on the decorated terrace of the royal palace—lit with perfumed lamps; saturated with various fragrances; and adorned by the association of dancers as if by nymphs—or lying down on an excellent soft bed covered with costly draperies, he, recalling the destruction of the myriads he had commited, found no happiness even on looking at his immense glory and fortune.

The Arahants of Piyangudīpa knew his doubt and sent eight Arahants to comfort the lord. They came during the middle watch of the night and alighted at the palace-door. Their arrival being announced, they mounted to the terrace of the palace.

The great king worshipped them, had them seated, paid them homage in diverse ways and inquired for the reason of their coming.

"Ruler of men, we have been sent by the Sangha of Piyangudīpa to comfort you."

The king told them again "Venerable Sirs, how verily will there be comfort to me in that I caused the destruction of a great army of myriads?"

"By this act of yours, there is no hindrance in the way to heaven. Ruler of men, only one and a half men were killed here. One was established in the refuges and the other only in the five precepts. The heretical and evil others who died were like animals. You will make the Buddha's Faith shine in many ways. Therefore, Lord of men, cast away your mental confusion." Being so exhorted by them the great king became comforted.

Having worshipped them, he sent them away and, lying down, he thought again, "When we were young our mother and father got us to swear on food saying, 'Never partake of any food without the Sangha,' Is there really anything that was eaten without giving the community of *bhikkhus*?"

* * *

He recalled that, once at breakfast, a red-pepper-pod was eaten unconsciously without leaving any for the Sangha. He thought, "For this penance must be done by me."

* * *

If one were here to think of and bear in mind well the many myriads of human beings murdered for greed and the evil consequences thereof and also bear in mind very carefully that impermanence is the murderer of all, one will before long attain thus the liberation from suffering or else an auspicious existence.

The Twenty-fifth Chapter, called "The Victory of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi" in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE DEDICATION OF THE MARICAVAṬṬI MONASTERY

The king of high renown brought Lankā under one parasol and assigned offices to his warriors as appropriate. The warrior, Theraputtābhaya declined what was being given to him. Being asked, "What for?," he replied, "There is a war." When questioned, "What war is there, when the sole sovereignty has been achieved?", he said as follows: "I shall wage war against those rebels, the Defilements, who are very difficult to be vanquished." The king dissuaded him again and again. He begged for it repeatedly and, with the approval of the king, obtained ordination. Having obtained ordination, he, in due time, attained Arahanthood and was accompanied by five hundred Arahants.

* * *

When the week of Parasol-ceremony elapsed, the king Abhaya, who was free of fear and who was consecrated with great splendour, went to the Tissa-tank which was adorned according to the custom of the festival, so as to hold festivities and observe the tradition of consecrated kings. All the requisities of the king and five hundred presents were placed at the site of the Maricavaṭṭi-monastery. The king's men, who bore the spear, planted erect the excellent spear with the relic at the very site of the *thūpa*.

The great king, along with the ladies of the harem, sported in water the whole day and, and in the evening, said "Let us go. Take the spear, men." Those who were entrusted with the function could not move the spear. The king's army, which assembled, paid homage to it with incense and garlands. The king saw the great miracle and was overjoyed in mind. He arranged sentinels there, entered the city and had a *cetiya* constructed there enclosing the spear. He also had a monastery built surrounding the *cetiya*.

In three years, the monastery was completed. The lord of men assembled the Sangha for the dedication of the monastery. At that time were assembled a hundred thousand *bhikkhus* and ninety thousand *bhikkhunīs*.

In that assembly, the lord of the earth told the Sangha this,

"Venerable Sirs, without remembering the Sangha, I ate a pepper-pod. I had this constructed thinking, 'Let it me my penance for that.' May the Sangha accept the most attractive Maricavaṭṭi-monastery, along with the *cetiya*". Being of a happy mood, he poured water of dedication and offered it to the community of *bhikkhus*.

He had a huge, beautiful pavilion erected in and around the monastery and held a great alms-giving there for the Sangha. The pavilion was made by even driving piles in the water of the Abhaya-tank. Why talk of the rest of the space?

The leader of men offered food, drink and so on for a week and gave all requisites of a recluse as very costly gifts. The gifts ranged from a hundred thousand worth to a thousand worth. The Sangha received all this.

The wealth—excluding here the priceless gifts—which was spent to pay homage to the Triple Gem, starting with the construction of the *thūpa* and ending with the dedication of the monastery, by the grateful and clever king who was a champion in war and liberality, whose pure mind was pleased in the Triple Gem and who was keen on making the Faith shine, was one less than twenty crores.

* * *

Though stained by five-fold defects, wealth, acquired by people with special wisdom, indeed takes on excellence composed of five advantages. Thus should the wise strive to capture the essence.

The Twenty-sixth Chapter called "The Dedication of the Maricavaṭṭi-monastery" in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE DEDICATION OF THE LOHAPĀSĀDA

Then the king thought of the widely known and well-heard tradition: "The *thera*, the converter of the island, who possessed great merit and was always intent on merit and who, by wisdom, had made the determination, told thus to the king, my ancestor,[1] 'Your descendant, the lord of the earth, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi of great wisdom, will in the future construct the beautiful great *thūpa*, Soṇṇamāli, a hundred and twenty cubits high and, again, likewise the Uposatha-house, Lohapāsāda of nine storeys, adorned with various gems.'"

Thinking thus, the lord of the earth on getting a search made, found a record written on a gold plate, which was kept in a chest in the palace itself. He had it read there that in the future, at the lapse of one hundred and thirty-six years, the leader of men Duṭṭhagāmaṇi-son of Kākavaṇṇa would do that and that in this manner. Hearing what was read, the lord of the earth, being overjoyed, uttered a cry of joy and clapped.

* * *

Then, at dawn itself, he went to the splendid Mahāmegha-grove, had an assembly arranged and, told the community of *bhikkhus*, "I shall build for you a mansion comparable to a divine palace. Send someone to a celestial palace and give me a drawing of it. The community of *bhikkhus* sent there eight Arahants.

At the time of the sage Kassapa, a brahman named Asoka offered eight ticket-meals to the Sangha and commanded the female-slave, Bīraṇī, "Give for ever." She gave them conscientiously as long as she lived. Passing away from here, the beautiful woman took birth in a gleaming palace in the sky. She was always surrounded by a thousand celestial damsels.

Her gem-set mansion rose upto twelve *yojanas*

1. i.e. Devānampiya Tissa. See Chapter 15

and its periphery was forty-eight *yojanas*. It was nine-storeyed, four-faced and attractive, decorated with a thousand gables and provided with thousand chambers. It had a thousand festoons of shells and "lion-cage" windows like eyes and was adorned by a railing with a net-work of little bells.

In the middle of it was the beautiful Ambalattihika-mansion, visible on all sides and teeming with lofty banners. The *theras*, while going to Tāvatiṃsa-heaven, saw this very mansion and made a drawing of it on linen cloth with red arsenic; then they turned back and, on returning, showed the cloth to the Sangha.

The Sangha took the cloth and sent it to the king. Seeing it, the king was pleased. Having come to the excellent monastery, the king had the excellent Lohapāsāda constructed according to the drawing.

* * *

At the very time of commencing work, the generous king had eight hundred thousand gold pieces placed at each of the four gates as well as a thousand baskets of garments and many pots full of molasses, oil, sugar and honey at each of the gates. Having announced, "No work should be done here without payment," he had the work done appraised and the wage paid for it.

* * *

The four-faced mansion measured a hundred cubits on each side and in height, too, it was as much. In this best of palaces, there were nine storeys and on each storey a hundred gables. All gables were inlaid with silver. Their coral railing was decked in different gems and surrounded by rows of little silver bells and their little lotuses were adorned with various gems.

There in that mansion were a thousand well-arranged chambers inlaid with various gems and decorated with "lion-cage" windows. Hearing that Vessavaṇa's was a carriage to transport women, he had a gem-set pavilion in its shape constructed in the centre. It was decorated with pictures of lions, tigers and so on as well as of deities and with pillars made of precious stones. At the edge of the

pavilion on all sides, it was surrounded by a net-work of pearls. The coral railing, there, too, was of the manner described before.

Within the pavilion, decked with seven-fold precious stones, was a shining beautiful ivory throne with a seat of crystal. There on the back-rest made of ivory was a sun made of gold, a moon made of silver and stars made of pearls. Here and there, as appropriate, were lotuses of different gems and there itself were Jātakas within a golden festoon.

On the exceedingly beautiful throne, covered with a very costly rug, was placed an attractive, gleaming ivory fan. Over the throne, there, shone a white parasol, with a silver staff, set with a coral stand on crystal. On it were the eight auspicious symbols made of the seven-fold precious stones and rows of quadrupeds with gems and pearls in between. At the edge of the parasol hung rows of silver bells. The mansion, the parasol, the throne and the pavilion were priceless.

There he had costly beds and seats and also very precious carpets and blankets arranged as appropriate. There the pitcher for rinsing water and its ladle were of gold. Why talk of the rest of the utensils of the mansion? Surrounded by a beautiful wall and provided with four gate-towers, the embellished mansion shone like the assembly-hall of the Tāvatiṃsa-heaven.

This mansion was covered with copper-bronze tiles. By that arose the appelation "Lohapāsāda" (Brazen Palace).

When the Lohapāsāda was completed the king assembled the Sangha. The Sangha assembled as at the dedication of Maricavaṭṭi. The *bhikkhus*, who were yet worldlings, stood on the first storey; and masters of the Tipiṭaka on the second. Those starting with Stream-winners—each on a storey—stood on the third storey and so forth. The Arahants stood on the highest four storeys.

Having bestowed the mansion on the Sangha with water of dedication, the king held a great alms-giving for a week as before. What was spent on account of the mansion by the exceedingly generous king was thirty crores, excluding those which were priceless.

* * *

Those piously wise persons, who count liberality as the special essence of the worthless accumulation of wealth,—being freed of mental attachment and intent on the welfare of beings,—give lavish alms thus.

The Twenty-seventh Chapter called "The Dedication of the Lohapāsāda" in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

Chapter XXVIII

THE ACQUISITION OF MATERIAL FOR THE MAHĀTHŪPA

Then, the lord of the earth spent a hundred thousand and had an excellent and magnificient ceremony in homage of the great Bodhi-tree. Entering the city from there, he saw the stone pillar, erected at the site of the *thūpa* and recalled the old tradition. Thinking "I will build the Great Thūpa" he was overjoyed; ascending to the upper floor of the palace, he partook of rice and, lying down, thought thus: "While conquering the Damiḷas, these people were oppressed by me. It is not possible to levy a tax. To build the Great Thūpa, avoiding taxation, how can I produce the bricks righteously?"

* * *

As he was thinking thus, the deity of the parasol knew that thought. Then arose a commotion among the gods. Coming to know it, Sakka told Vissakamma, "The king Gāmaṇi had thought of bricks for the *cetiya*. Go and create bricks there near the Gambhīra-river at a *yojana* from the city." Thus commanded by Sakka, Vissakamma came here and created the bricks there.

There, in the morning a hunter went to the forest with his dogs. The deity of the place appeared to the hunter in the form of an iguana. The hunter went chasing it and saw the bricks. When the iguana disappeared, he thought thus:—"Our lord of the earth is, indeed, desirous of building a great *thūpa*. This would be a resource to him." The king who took delight in the welfare of people, heard this—his delightful statement—and, pleased in mind, bestowed on him a great reward.

* * *

In the north-eastern region from the city, at a distance of three *yojanas*, in the village of

Ācāravitthi on a plain of sixteen *karīsas*, there arose nuggets of gold of various sizes—the largest measuring a span, and the smallest a finger's breadth. The inhabitants of the village saw the earth full of gold; taking a bowl of gold, they went and informed the king.

* * *

On th eastern direction from the city, at a distance of seven *yojanas*, on the other side of Gangā in Tambapiṭṭha, copper arose. The villagers took the copper nuggets in a bowl, approached the king and informed of the matter.

* * *

In the region to the south-east from the city, at four *yojanas*, in the village of Sumanavāpi, many gems arose. The villagers took them mixed with jade and quartz in a bowl, went and informed the king.

* * *

In the southern direction from the city, at a distance of eight *yojanas* in Ambaṭṭhakola-cave, silver appeared. A certain merchant of the city took with him many carts and went to Malaya to bring ginger etc. Not far from the cave, he stopped the carts and climbed the mountain, searching for wood for goads.

He saw a young *jak*-tree bent with the weight of fruit and a single fruit which was of the size of a cooking pot. He cut at the stem with a knife the fruit which rested on the rock and thought, "I shall offer the best part." With faith, he announced the time and four Arahants came. Being overjoyed, he worshipped and had them seated with reverence. He cut the rind around the stem with a knife and tore out the core. Taking with bowls the juice, that filled the hollow, he offered them four bowls full of juice. They took them and went away.

He announced the time again and four other

Arahants came there. He took their bowls, filled them with *jak-drupes* and gave them. Three of them left, but one did not go. So as to show the silver, he descended from there, sat near the cave and partook of the *jak-drupes*. The merchant, too, ate the rest of the fruit as much as was needed, took the remainder in a bundle and followed the *thera's* footsteps. Having gone, he saw the *thera* and attended on him. The *thera* created for him a pathway by the cave, saying, "Lay devotee, now you, too, go by this pathway." He worshipped the *thera* and, going by that pathway, saw the cave. Standing at the mouth of the cave, he saw the silver. He struck it with his knife and knew that it was silver. Taking a single lump of silver, he went near the carts. Leaving behind the carts, he took that lump of silver and came quickly to Anuradhāpura. The noble merchant showed the silver to the king and informed the matter.

* * *

In the western direction from the city, at a distance of five *yojanas*, at the port of Uruvela, pearls of the size of large myrobalan intermingled with coral came to the dry land from the sea. Fishermen saw them and heaped them together. Taking the pearls along with the coral, they approached the king and informed him of the matter.

* * *

In the northern direction from the city, at a distance of seven *yojanas*, in a cave opening on the tank of Peḷivāpika-village, on the sandy bank arose four excellent and beautiful gems, of the size of a grinding stone and of the colour of flax-flowers. A hunter with dogs saw them, came to the king's presence and informed him, "Gems of this form have been seen by me."

The lord of the earth of great merit heard on that very day itself of these bricks etc. which had arisen for use in the Great Thūpa.

Being pleased, he gave rewards as appropriate to the informants, appointed them as watchers and had everything brought.

* * *

Merit that is acquired with a faith-inspired mind, without thinking that the misery born of the body is unbearable, brings in thus a hundred results which are mines of happiness. Therefore should one acquire merit with a faith-inspired mind.

The Twenty-eighth Chapter called "The Acquisition of Materials for the *Mahāthūpa*," in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE BEGINNING OF THE MAHĀTHŪPA

When the resources were thus obtained he commenced the work for the Great Thūpa as the Visākha constellation appeared on the full-moon day of the month of Visākha (April-May). Having got the pillar removed, the ruler of the earth had the site of the *thūpa* there dug to a depth of seven cubits so as to make it firm in various ways. He, who knew the advantages and disadvantages, had round stones brought there by warriors and had them broken with hammers; then for the sake of firmness of the site, he had the crushed stones stamped down by elephants with feet covered in leather.

* * *

The clay at the place where the celestial river descends—being for ever drenched—is fine all around there for thirty *yojanas*; on account of its fineness, it is called 'butter-clay'. Arahant *sāmaṇeras* brought clay from there. He had clay spread there over the layer of stone. The lord had bricks laid over the clay, rough plaster over it, quartz over that, a network of iron over it and, above that, fragrant *marumba* brought by *sāmaṇeras* from the Himālayas.

* * *

The lord of the earth had crystal spread over that and, over the crystal, stones. Everywhere in work was the clay called 'butter-clay'. With the resin of the wood-apple, mixed in mercury, a bronze plate, eight finger-breadths thick, was laid over the stones. The lord of the chariots had a silver plate, seven finger-breadths thick, laid over it with arsenic mixed in the oil of sesamum.

The lord of the earth, with an exceedingly happy mind, made preparations at the site where the Great Thūpa would be established. On the fourteenth day of the bright half of the month of Āsāḷha, (June-July) he assembled the community of *bhikkhus* and said "Venerable Sirs, tomorrow I shall have the foundation-stone laid for the Great Cetiya. Let our entire Sangha, intent on the welfare of the people, come there for conducting a ceremony

in homage of the Buddha. Let the people, having observed Uposatha-precepts, take incense, garlands and so on and go to the site where the Great Thūpa will be established." He also assigned ministers to decorate the site of the *cetiya*.

Commanded by the lord of men, the people, who loved and honoured the *sage* decorated the place in various ways. The lord of the earth had the entire city and also the road leading here decorated in various ways. The lord of the land delighting in the welfare of the people placed in the morning at the four gates, for the use of the people, many bath-attendants, barbers and hair-dressers and likewise clothes, incense and garlands and delicious food. Taking, as each desired, what was offered, the townsfolk as well as the country-folk came to the site of the *thūpa*.

The lord of the earth, who knew the right and the wrong places and had the grace of the king of the gods, arrived well-adorned in ceremonial attire, at the site of the Great Thūpa in the afternoon —bringing joy to the people—attended in the order of their rank by many ministers well-adorned as befitting their offices, surrounded by well-adorned dancing girls comparable to nymphs, accompanied by forty-thousand men and heralded by music.

The lord of the earth had a thousand and eight shawls, tied in bundles, placed in the centre and had many garments heaped on the four sides. He also had honey, clarified butter, molasses etc. set forth for the festival.

* * *

From various countries did many *bhikkhus* come here. Why talk of the congregation of the Sangha living here in the island?

> From the neighbourhood of Rajagaha, the Thera Indagutta, a head of a large community, came with eighty thousand *bhikkhus*. The great Thera Dhammasena came to the site of the *cetiya* with twelve thousand *bhikkhus* from Isipatana. With sixty thousand *bhikkhus* came here the great Thera Piyadassi from the Jetārāma monastery. The Thera Urubuddharakkhita from Mahāvana of Vesāli came with eighteen thousand *bhikkhus*. The Thera Urudhammarakkhita from Ghositārāma of Kosambi came here with thirty thousand *bhikkhus*. From Dakkhiṇagiri in Ujjeni came the Thera Urusangharakkhita with forty thousand recluses. Taking a hundred and sixty thousand *bhikkhus* came the *thera* named Mittiṇṇa from Asokārāma in Pupphapura. The Thera Uttiṇṇa from the Kāsmīra country bringing two hundred and eighty thousand *bhikkhus*, Mahādeva of great wisdom from Pallava-bhogga with four hundred and sixty thousand *bhikkhus* and the Thera Mahādhammarakkhita, the Greek, from the Greek city Alasandā with thirty thousand *bhikkhus* came. From the forest monastery Vattaniya of Vinjhā forest came the Thera Uttara with sixty thousand *bhikkhus*. The great Thera Cittagutta from the Bodhi-tree monastery came here with thirty thousand *bhikkhus*. The great Thera Candagutta from the Vanavāsa region came here with eighty thousand ascetics. The great Thera Suriyagutta from the great monastery of Kelāsa came with ninety-six thousand *bhikkhus*.

The exact determination of the overall number of *bhikkhus* inhabiting the island, who came, has not been stated by the ancients. It is said that ninety-six crores among all the *bhikkhus*, who came together in that assembly, were indeed Arahants.

* * *

These *bhikkhus* stood, as appropriate, around the site of the Great Cetiya, leaving in the middle an open space for the king. The king entered there, saw the community of *bhikkhus* standing thus and, being pleased, worshipped them with a faith-inspired mind. Having paid homage to them with incense and garland, he circumambulated them thrice and entered the place with "full pitchers," and auspicious objects. Uplifted by the power of pure happiness, the king, intent on the welfare of beings and, determined to trace a great circle for the *cetiya*, had a minister of noble birth-well attired in ceremonial dress to hold the pure silver tracing stick fixed to a post of gold and began to trace a circle on the prepared site.

The great *thera* of immense miraculous power, by the name of Siddhattha, being far-sighted, prevented the king from doing it. Seeing to the future and, thinking, "If the king were to start a *thūpa* of this size, his death will come even while the *thūpa* is not

finished and a gigantic *thūpa* will be difficult to repair," he restricted the magnitude.

In agreement with the Sangha and from reverence to the *thera,* the king accepted the *thera's* statement and, with his advice, had a medium-sized circle drawn for the *cetiya* so as to lay the bricks.

With unfailing energy, he had eight vases of gold and silver in the centre and, around them, a thousand and eight vases and lots of one hundred and eight garments. He also had eight excellent bricks placed separately. He had a selected minister, who was adorned in many ways, to take one out of them and had the first auspicious brick laid solemnly on the dainty fragrant clay on the east side, which was decked with various auspicious objects.

When jasmine-flowers were offered there, an earthquake occurred. The other seven were caused to be placed by seven ministers and auspicious ceremonies were performed. Thus, the king had bricks laid on the appointed Uposatha-day, the fifteenth of the bright half of the month of Āsāḷha (June-July).

* * *

He being excessively pleased, worshipped the great Arahant *theras* who stood at the four directions there and paid homage to them in order. He went to the north-eastern direction, worshipped the great *thera* Arahant Piyadassi and stood by him. Enhancing the auspiciousness there, he preached the Dhamma to the king. The sermon of the *thera* was to benefit to the people.

> The conversion of forty-thousand to the Dhamma took place. The Fruit of the Stream-winner was attained by forty-thousand. There, a thousand each of laymen became Once-Returners, Non-Returners and Arahants. Eighteen thousand *bhikkhus* and fourteen thousand *bhikkhuṇīs* were established in Arahanthood.

* * *

Thus may the wise, being pleased in the Triple Gem, be attached to the practice of many such virtues like faith with a mind inclined to liberality and intent on the welfare of the people, knowing that it will be the highest fulfillment of the benefit to the world.

The Twenty-ninth Chapter called "The Beginning of the Mahāthūpa" in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

Chapter XXX

THE MAKING OF THE RELIC-CHAMBER

The great king worshipped and invited the entire Sangha, saying "Upto the completion of the *cetiya,* accept alms from me." The Sangha did not consent to it. Then he prayed in degrees down to one week. He obtained the consent for one week by half the *bhikkhus*. Being pleased on obtaining them, he had pavilions built in eighteen places around the site of the *thūpa* and held a great alms-giving there for the Sangha for a week. Then, he sent the Sangha away.

* * *

Then he announced by the beat of drum and got the brick-masons assembled quickly. There were five hundred of them. Being asked, "How will you work," one told the lord of the earth, "Having taken a hundred workmen, I will use up a cart-load of earth per day." The king rejected him. Thereupon, they reduced to half, to half of that and to two *ammaṇas* of earth. Those four masons, too the king rejected.

Then a wise and clever mason told the king, "I shall pound in a mortar and grind on a grinding stone what falls from sieves and use one *ammaṇa* of earth." Being so informed, the lord of the earth, who was valourous like Indra, approved him, saying "There should be no grass etc. here in the *cetiya*."

The king asked him, "To what design will you make this *cetiya*?" At that very moment, Vissakamma entered him. The mason filled a golden bowl with water and, taking some water with his hand, slapped it on the surface of the water. A large bubble like a crystal globe was formed. He said, "I shall make it like this." The lord of the earth was pleased and had him given a pair of garments worth a thousand, ornamented shoes likewise and twelve thousand *kahāpaṇas*.

The king thought at night, "How shall I have the bricks brought without harassing the men?" The gods knew it and night by night brought and placed at the four gates of the *cetiya* bricks enough for each day.

Having heard this, the king, being pleased began work on the *cetiya*. He had it announced, "No work should be done here without wages". At each gate, he arranged to be placed sixteen hundred thousand *kahāpaṇas*, many garments, various ornaments, soft and hard food with beverages, perfumes, garlands, molasses etc. and five kinds of mouth-fresheners, saying "Let one work as one desires and take them as one desires." Royal officers inspected accordingly and gave.

* * *

A certain *bhikkhu*, desiring participation in the work of the *thūpa*, took a lump of clay, which he had prepared by himself. He went to the site of the *cetiya*, deceived the royal officers and gave it to the mason. As he was taking it, he knew it, being aware of its form. There arose a commotion. In due course, the king heard of it, came and questioned the mason. The king was told, "Majesty, the *bhikkhus* hold flowers in one hand and give us the lump of clay with the other. I know, Majesty, that, this is a resident *bhikkhu* and this is a visitor." He appointed an official to identify the recluse who gave the clay. The mason showed him to the official and he informed the king. The king had three pitchers of jasmine-buds placed in the compound of the great Bodhi-tree and had them offered to the *bhikkhu* through the official. To the *bhikkhu* who offered them without knowing, the official informed the matter. Then the recluse came to know it.

* * *

A *thera*, a resident of Piyangalla in the region of Koṭṭhivāla, desiring participation in the work of the *cetiya*, came here. Being a relative of the brick-mason, he knew and made a brick of the size of the brick there. Deceiving the royal officers, he gave it to the mason. He laid it there. A commotion arose. Just as the king heard of it, he asked the mason, "Can this brick be identified?" Though he could, the mason told the king that it could not be identified.

When asked, "Do you know this *thera*?" he replied, "Yes." The lord of the earth assigned his official to find him. By royal command, the official came to know the *thera* through the mason and approached the *thera*. The official saw and consulted the *thera* of the Kaṭṭhahāḷa-pariveṇa, and learned of the day of the *thera's* departure and his destination. Having told him, "I will go with you to your village," he informed everything to the king. The king gave him a pair of garments worth a thousand and a very costly red blanket. Having also arranged him to receive many requisites of a monk, sugar and a *nāḷi* of fragrant oil, the king instructed him. Going with the *thera*, when Piyangallaka was seen, he got the *thera* seated in a cool shady place with water, gave him a drink of sugar, rubbed his feet with the fragrant oil, put on the sandals and offered the requisites. Saying, "I brought these for the *thera*, who frequently visits our family, and the pair of garments for the son. I give all this to you," he gave them. To the *thera* who was going further, he paid reverence in the king's name and conveyed the king's message.

* * *

As the Great Thūpa was being constructed, many people, who worked for wages, being pleased in the Faith, went to heaven. May the wise perceive that a noble existence in heaven is obtained by merely the pleasing of the mind in the Faith and pay homage to the Thūpa. Two women, who had worked here for wages, were reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa-heaven. When the Great Thūpa was completed, they both having recalled their former action and seen its result, came to pay homage to the Thūpa, *taking with them incense and garlands. Having offered incense, garlands and so on they worshipped the* Cetiya. *At that moment, the Thera Mahāsiva, residing at Bhātikavanka came, thinking, "I will worship the Great Thūpa by night." Leaning against a large*

sattapaṇṇi *tree, he saw them and stood gazing at their marvelous splendour, without letting himself to be seen. At the end of their adoration, he asked them, "Here the whole island shines with the effulgence of your bodies. Having done what deed did you go from here to the heaven?" The deities told him of the work done at the Great Thūpa. Thus does faith in the Tathāgata himself bring great benefit.*[1]

* * *

The *theras* with miraculous power caused the three flower-terraces of the *Thūpa*, each of which was built in brick, to sink to the level of the ground. Then the king called an assembly of the community of *bhikkhus*. There eighty thousand *bhikkhus* assembled. The king went to the Sangha, paid homage to them, worshipped them and asked for the reason for the sinking of bricks. The Sangha explained "So that the *Thūpa* might not settle by itself, Great king, this was done by *bhikkhus*, possessing miraculous power. Now they will not do it. Without any alteration, you finish the Great Thūpa." Hearing it, the king was pleased and caused the work at the *Thūpa* to be continued. In the ten flower-terraces were ten crores of bricks.

* * *

The community of *bhikkhus* commissioned the *sāmaṇeras*, Uttara and Sumana, saying "Bring fat-coloured stones for the relic-chamber of the *cetiya*." They went to Uttara-Kuru and brought from there six excellent massive fat-coloured stones, eighty cubits in length and breadth, eight finger-breadths thick, resplendent like the sun and similar to *gaṇṭhi* blossoms in colour.

They of great miraculous power laid one in the centre of the flower-terrace, arranged four on the four sides to be like a box and concealed one in the eastern direction for use as the lid.

1. This episode is apparently a later interpolation.

* * *

In the centre of the relic-chamber the king had a Bodhi-tree made of gems—attractive in every way. It had a trunk eighteen cubits high and five branches. With roots made of coral, it stood on sapphire. The trunk was of the purest silver and it was adorned with leaves made of gems. The withered leaves and fruit were made of gold and the tender shoots of coral. On its trunk were the eight auspicious symbols, flowering creepers, rows of quadrupeds and beautiful rows of swans.

Over it, on the border of a beautiful canopy were a network of pearl bells, rows of golden bells and chains here and there. On the four corners of the canopy hung clusters of pearl strings each worth nine hundred thousand. Mounted on the canopy were figures of the sun, the moon and the stars and various lotus-motives, made of gems. On the canopy were hung one thousand and eight different fabrics of great value and diverse colours.

A railing of various gems encircled the Bodhi-tree and the enclosure was paved with large myrobalan-pearls. At the foot of the Bodhi-tree were made rows of full and empty pitchers of flowers of diverse gems and of water with fourfold perfumes.

On a throne worth a crore placed to the east of the Bodhi-tree, he had a shining Buddha statue of gold seated. The body and members of this image, made, as appropriate, of gems of diverse colours, were exceedingly beautiful. Mahābrahmā stood there holding a silver parasol and Sakka was performing consecration with the Vijayuttara-shank. There too were Pañcasikha with the lute in hand, Kālanāga the eternal and the thousand armed Māra with his elephant and his servants.

Similar to the eastern throne, thrones worth a crore each were placed in the other seven directions too. A couch, adorned with various gems and worth indeed a crore was also set with its head-rest towards the Bodhi-tree.

Here and there, as suitable, he caused to be depicted sections representing the events relating to the seven spots where the first seven weeks spent, as well as

- the entreaty by Brahmā
- the setting in motion the wheel of the Dhamma

- the ordination of Yasa
- the ordination of the Bhaddavaggiyas
- the disciplining of the Jaṭilas
- the visit of Bimbisāra
- the entry into Rājagaha
- the acceptance of Veḷuvana,
- the eighty disciples
- the journey to Kapilavatthu and there itself the gem-set promenade
- the ordination of Rāhula and Nanda
- the acceptance of Jetavana
- the miracle at the foot of the mango-tree
- the sermon in the Tāvatiṃsa-heaven
- the miracle of the descent from heaven
- the assembly of the questioning of the *thera*
- the Mahāsamaya-*suttanta*
- the advice to Rāhula
- the Mahāmangala-*suttanta*
- the assembly of Dhanapāla
- the disciplining of Ālavaka, Angulimāla and Apalāla
- the assembly of the Pārāyaṇas
- relinquishing the span of life
- the acceptance of *sūkaramaddava* (a dish of pork?) and the pair of gold coloured-garments
- the drinking of clear water
- the perfect *Nibbāṇa* (i.e. passing away)
- the lamentation of gods and men
- the worshipping of the feet by the *thera*
- the cremation
- the quenching of the fire and there too the funeral rites
- the distribution of relics by Doṇa,and
- the converted peoples.

He of noble birth had also depicted in abundance the Jātakas. He had the Vessantara-Jātaka done in detail and likewise from Tusita-heaven to the excellent Bodhi-tree.[1]

On the four directions stood the four Great Kings, thirty-three

2. i.e., the entire lay-life of the Buddha from conception to Buddhahood

gods, the thirty-two Princessess and the twenty-eight Yakkha-generals. Above them were gods clasping their hands in salutation, likewise vases filled with flowers, also dancing deities, deities playing musical instruments, gods holding mirrors as well as gods bearing flowering branches, gods holding lotuses etc. and other gods of many kinds, rows of gem-set arches and wheels of the Dhamma, rows of gods bearing swords and gods carrying bowls. On their heads, five-handled bowls, with wicks of fine cloth, filled with fragrant oil, were continually lit.

At each of the four corners, on a crystal arch was a large gem. At the four corners were also four dazzling heaps of gold, gems, pearls and diamonds. Even on the wall of fat-coloured stone, brilliant flashes of lightning , which adorned the relic-chamber, were depicted. Here, in the beautiful relic-chamber, the lord of the earth had all figures made of solid beaten gold.

* * *

The great Thera Indagutta of great wisdom with sixfold Analytical Knowledge—who was the supervisor of work—organized all this here. All this was accomplished without any obstacle due to the miraculous power of the king, the deities and the noble ones.

* * *

Understanding that the merit gained by paying homage (both) to the living Blessed One—*the most reverence-worthy, the highest of the world, free from darkness—and also to his relics which are dispersed desiring the welfare of people, is identical, the wise man, who is adorned by the virtue of faith should venerate the relics of the sage just as the living Blessed One.*

The Thirtieth Chapter called "The Making of the Relic-chamber" in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XXX1

THE ENSHRINING OF THE RELICS

The subduer of foes had the work of the relic-chamber completed, got the Sangha assembled and said, "I have had the work of the relic-chamber completed. Tomorrow I shall enshrine the relics—Venerable Sirs, may you find the relics." Having said this, the king went into the city.

The community of *bhikkhus* considered a *bhikkhu* to bring the relics. It assigned to the task of bringing the relics the ascetic named Soṇuttara possessed of sixfold supernormal knowledge, a resident of Pujā-pariveṇa.

* * *

When the *lord* was wandering about for the good of the world, a young man on the bank of the Gangā, named Soṇuttara invited the Buddha along with the Sangha and offered hospitality. The master with the Sangha embarked on a boat at the port of Payāga.

There, the Thera Bhaddaji of miraculous power possessed of sixfold supernormal knowledge saw a spot where the water eddied and told the *bhikkhus*, "The golden mansion of twenty-five *yojanas* in which I lived in my existence as Mahāpanāda fell here. Reaching it, the water of the Gangā eddies here." Not believing him, the *bhikkhus* informed the *master*.

The *master said, "Dispel the doubt of the bhikkhus*." Then, in order to show his ability to exert his command in the Brahma-world, he rose into the sky by his miraculous power and floated at a height of seven palm-trees. Placing on his outstretched hand the Dussathūpa of the Brahma-world, he brought it here, showed the people and put it again there in the appropriate place. He dived into the Gangā by his miraculous power, took hold of the mansion by its sphire with his toe, raised it, showed it to the people and tossed it down there.

The young man, Nanduttara, saw this miracle and wished, "May I be capable of bringing relics belonging to others." Therefore did the Sangha assign the ascetic Soṇuttara to this task, even though he was sixteen years old.

* * *

He asked the Sangha, "From where do I bring the relics?" The Sangha told the *thera* of the relics thus:

"Lying on the bed of perfect Nibbāṇa, the *leader of the world*, so as to bring about the welfare of the world with his relics, told the king of the gods, 'Out of the eight *doṇas* of my bodily relics, one *doṇa* which will be honoured by the Koliyas of Rāmagāma and thence be taken to the nāga- world and honoured by the nāgas there, shall be for enshrinement in the Great Thūpa of the island of Lankā'.

"The far-sighted Thera Mahākassapa of great wisdom, on account of the dispersion of the relics by the lord of men, Asoka the Righteous, brought the seven *doṇas* of relics and had a great well-prepared enshrinement, done by the king Ajātasattu near Rājagaha. Knowing the mind of the *master*, he did not take the *doṇa* from Rāmagāma.

"The lord of the earth, Asoka the Righteous, saw the great enshrinement of relics and made up his mind to have the eight *doṇas* brought. The Arahant ascetics there prevented Asoka the Righteous, from doing so, saying, 'It has been enjoyed by the *conqueror* for the enshrinement in the Great Thūpa'.

"The *thūpa*, at Rāmagāma, erected on the bank of the Gangā, broke on account of a flood of the Gangā and the relic-casket, on entering the sea, rested on a seat of different gems—surrounded by rays of light—there amidst the water which had divided into two.

"The nāgas saw the casket, went to the nāgas abode, Manjerika, and informed the king, Kālanāga. He went there with ten crores of Nāgas and, paying homage to the relics, brought them to his abode. He created a *thūpa* made of precious stones and likewise a house about it and paid homage always with fervour, along with the *Nāgas*. There is a strong guard. Go and bring the relics here as tomorrow the ruler of the earth will do the enshrinement of relics." Hearing these words of the Sangha, he went to his own cell saying "All right" and awaited the right time to go.

* * *

The lord of the earth, ordering all that needed to be done, announced in the city by the beat of drum, "Tomorrow the enshrinement of relics will take place." He had the entire city as well as the road leading here decorated. He also got the townsfolk to adorn themselves.

Sakka, the lord of gods, summoned Vissakamma and had the whole of the island of Lankā decorated in many ways.

At the four gates of the city, the leader of men had clothes, rice etc. placed for the use of the people. On the Uposatha-day, the fifteenth, in the afternoon, the happy king, skilled in royal duties, adorned himself with all ornaments and, surrounded by dancing girls, soldiers bearing arms, a great host of troops and elephants, cavalry and vehicles, decorated in various ways, mounted a beautiful vehicle drawn by four beautiful Sindhu-horses. He stood there holding a golden casket under the white parasol. In front of him was the bedecked noble elephant Kaṇḍula.

A thousand and eight noble city women, adorned with well-filled pitchers, as many likewise with baskets of flowers and as many bearing torches surrounded the vehicle. A thousand and eight well-adorned boys surrounded it carrying splendid flags of different colours. Rending asunder the earth as though with the sound of various musical instruments here and there and the noise of elephants, horses and vehicles, the king of great fame, going in splendour to the Mahāmegha-grove shone like the king of the gods going to Nanda-grove.

* * *

The ascetic Soṇuttara, seated in his cell, heard the

great sound of music in the city at the commencement of the king's departure. He dived into the earth, went to the nāga-mansion and appeared quickly before the nāga-king. The lord, of the nāgas rose, greeted him, had him seated on the throne, paid him homage and asked from where he came. When that was told, the nāga-king questioned the *thera* on the purpose of his visit. Having told him the whole matter, he conveyed the message of the Sangha: "The relics which the Buddha enjoined for enshrinement in the Great Thūpa are here in your hands. Give them to me."

Hearing that, the nāga-king was excessively distressed and, thinking, "This recluse is indeed capable of taking them by force, hence the relics should be taken elsewhere," made it known by a sign to his nephew who stood there.

He, who by name was Vāsuladatta, knew what was implied, swallowed the casket, repaired to the foot of the Sineru-mountain and lay there coiled in a circle; three hundred *yojanas* long was the body and a *yojana* in circumference. Possessed of great miraculous power, he created many thousand hoods and lay belching smoke and fire. He created many thousands of snakes like himself and had them lie around him in a circle. Many nāgas and gods descended there saying, "We shall witness the battle of two nāgas."

The uncle knowing that the relics were taken away by the nephew, told the *thera*, "The relics are not with me." The *thera* told the nāga-king how the relics came from the very begining and said, "Give me the relics." In order to make it known to him in another way, the serpent-king took him to the Cetiya-house and described it to him.

"Ø *bhikkhu*, see the *cetiya*, well-adorned with many precious stones in numerous ways, and the *cetiya*-house that is well-constructed. All the precious stones of the whole of the island of Lankā are not worth even the stone-slab at the foot of the

stairway. Why speak of the others? O *bhikkhu*, it is not proper for you to take these relics from a place where they are greatly honoured to a place where they will be less honoured."

"O nāga, among you there is no realization of the truth. It behoves that we take the relics to a place where the realization of the truth takes place. The *Tathāgatas* are born for deliverance from the misery of saṃsāra. Here, it was the *Buddha's* intention. Therefore will I take the relics. The king will indeed do the enshrinement of relics today itself. Hence, without delaying, give me the relics soon."

The *nāga* said, "Venerable Sir, If you see the relics, take them and go." The *thera* got him to repeat it thrice. The *thera*, standing there itself, created a subtle hand, inserted it in the mouth of the nephew instantly, took out the casket of relics, said, "Stay, nāga;" dived through the earth and rose in his cell.

The nāga-king, thinking, "Deceived by us, the *bhikkhu* went away," sent for his nephew to bring back the relics. The nephew, not finding the casket in his belly, came lamenting and informed the uncle. Then the *nāga*-king, too, cried saying, "We have been deceived." All the nāgas, who were distressed, also lamented.

The gods, who had assembled, rejoiced over the victory of the *bhikkhu-nāga* and accompanied him, paying homage to the relics. The *nāgas* came crying to the Sangha and, being grieved by the removal of the relics, lamented. Out of compassion for them, the Sangha had a few relics given to them. Satisfied with that, they returned and brought things for offering.

Sakka taking a gem-set throne and a golden box came to that place along with the gods. In a splendid gem-set pavilion, constructed by Vissakamma at the spot where the *thera* emerged, the Sakka had the throne placed; and, taking the casket of relics from the *thera's* hand, set it in the box and kept it on the noble throne.

Brahmā held the parasol. Saṃtusita the yak-tail wisk, Suyāma the jewelled fan and Sakka the shank with water. The four Great Kings stood with swords in their hands. The thirty-three gods of great miraculous power, with baskets in their hands, went there, paying homage with *paricchattaka*-flowers. The thirty-two Princesses also stood there bearing torches.

Having driven away wicked yakkhas, the twenty-eight yakkha-generals stood guarding. Pañchsikha, too, stood playing the lute. Timbaru had an arena created and provided the sound of music and many gods sang sweet songs. Manhākāla, the nāga-king, chanted eulogies in many forms. The celestial musical instruments played and heavenly music prevailed and the gods caused showers of celestial perfume etc. to fall.

To ward off Māra, the Thera Indagutta created a parasol of bronze, equal in size to the universe. In front of the relics, here and there, in five places, the *bhikkhus* carried out group recitation.

* * *

The great king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, rejoicing immensely, came there. Placing the box of relics in the golden box that was brought, he carried it on his head and set it on the seat. Standing there with hands clasped in salutation, he worshipped and paid homage to the relics.The kṣatriya saw there the celestial parasol and the incense etc. and heard the sound of divine music, but did not see Brahmā or the gods. Pleased and amazed at the miracle, he honoured the relics with the parasol, conferring on them the sovereignty over Lankā.

Saying, "To the *master*, the *lord of the world*, who bears three parasols—namely, the parasol of Brahmā, the parasol of human beings and the parasol of deliverance as well—I offer my kingdom verily thrice," he, with a rejoicing mind, gave the relics sovereignty over Lankā three times.

Paying homage to the relics along with gods and men, the kṣatriya carried them with the boxes on his head and, surrounded by the community of *bhikkhus* circumambulated the Thūpa. He ascended from the east and descended into the relic-chamber. Ninety-six crores of Arahants stood surrounding the excellent Thūpa, with their hands clasped in salutation.

When the lord of men filled with joy having descended into the relic-chamber, was thinking "I shall place them on the precious and beautiful couch," the box of relics, together with the relics, rose from his head and floated in the sky at a height of seven palm-trees.

The casket opened by itself. The relics rose from there, assumed the form of the *Buddha* gleaming with features and characteristics and, like the *Buddha* himself at the foot of the rose-apple tree, performed the "Twin Miracle," as determined by the *Blessed One* when alive.

Seeing the miracle, twelve crores of gods and men, whose minds were pleased and concentrated, attained Arahanthood. Those who attained the other three Fruits were beyond counting. Abandoning the form of the *Buddha*, the relics settled in the casket; the box descended from there and rested on the head of the king.

Going in procession round the relic-chamber with the Thera Indagutta and the dancing girls, the bearer of brilliance (the king) reached the splendid couch and had the box placed on the gem-set throne. Having washed his hands again with scented water and rubbed them with the four kinds of perfumes, he, with reverence, opened the casket and took the relics; the lord of the land, intent on the welfare of the people, thought thus: "If the relics shall remain undisturbed by any one, if the relics shall continue being a refuge to the people, let them rest on this well-arranged, precious couch in the manner the *master* lay on the bed of perfect Nibbāṇa. Having thought thus, he set the relics on the excellent couch. In that manner did the relics rest on the excellent couch.

Thus the relics were placed on the Uposatha-day, the fifteenth, of the bright half of the month of Āsāḷha (June-July) under the constellation

Uttarasāḷha. With the placing of the relics, the great earth quaked. Many miracles took place in various ways.

Pleased in the Faith, the king paid homage with the white parasol. He offered for seven days the entire sovereignty over Lankā. He offered in the relic-chamber all the ornaments on his body; likewise did the dancing girls, the ministers, the retinue and the deities.

* * *

The lord of the earth gave the Sangha garments, molasses, clarified butter etc. and had group recitation conducted by *bhikkhus* right through the night. The next day, he, benevolent to the people, announced in the city by the beat of drum, "Let all the people worship the relics this week."

> The great Thera Indagutta of immense miraculous power resolved: "Let the people of the island of Lanka, who wish to worship the relics, come here that very moment itself and return to their respective homes having worshipped the relics." It came to pass as resolved.

The great king of great fame held a great alms-giving continually for that week to the great community of *bhikkhus* and proclaimed, "What had to be done in the relic-chamber has been completed by me. It behoves for the Sangha to know about the closing of the relic-chamber." The Sangha assigned the two *sāmaṇeras* to that task. With the stone that was brought they closed the relic-chamber.

> "Let not the garlands here wither; let not the perfumes dry up; let not the lamps blow out; let nothing whatsoever perish; let the six fat-coloured stones fuse together without a gap," thus did the Arahants there resolve all this.

The great king intent on their welfare commanded, "Let the people enshrine relics according to their means." Above the great enshrinement of relics, the people enshrined thousands of relics as they could. Covering everything, the king completed the *Thūpa* and there he finished even the solid cube on the *Thūpa*.

* * *

Thus are the Buddhas beyond the realm of thought and the Dhammas of the Buddhas beyond the realm of thought. To those who are pleased in what is beyond the realm of thought the reward is beyond the realm of thought.

In this manner do the pious perform by themselves blemishless meritorious deeds for the purpose of attaining the highest of all treasures and, being of purified minds, get also others to do so for the purpose of gaining a following of various eminent people.

The Thirty-first Chapter called "The Enshrining of the Relics" in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XXXII

GOING TO TUSITA-HEAVEN

While the work on the *chatta* and the plaster was not yet finished, the king fell ill with a terminal sickness. He sent for his younger brother Tissa for Dīghavāpi and told him, "Complete the work in the Thūpa, which is yet not finished."

* * *

On account of the brother's feebleness, Tissa had a mantle of white cloth made by seamsters and had the *cetiya* covered with it. He got painters to do carefully a railing there and also rows of "full pitchers" and a row of five-finger ornament. He had likewise a *chatta* made of bamboo by basket-workers and also on the tee the sun and the moon out of cane. Having had the *cetiya* painted beautifully with lacquer and *kankuṭṭhaka*, he announced to the king, "What has to be done in the Thūpa is completed."

Lying in a palanquin, the lord of the earth came here; in the palanquin itself, he circumambulated the *cetiya* and worshipped it. On a bedding spread upon the ground at the southern gate, he looked upon the excellent *cetiya,* lying on his right side, and upon the excellent Lohapāsāda, lying on his left side, and, accompanied by the community of *bhikkhus*, was pleased. In that assembly, there were ninety-six crores of *bhikkhus* with those who had come from here and there to inquire about the illness. The *bhikkhus*, forming groups, performed group recitation.

* * *

Not seeing the Thera Puttābhaya there, the lord of the earth thought, "The Thera Abhaya, the son of the *thera*—the great warrior—who abided by me without ever turning back while I was fighting victoriously twenty-eight great battles, has not come to me now, when the battle with death has begun, seeing, I think, my defeat." The *thera* knew his thought while residing at the Pañjali-mountain by the source of Karinda-river. By his miraculous power, he came by air accompanied by five hundred Arahants and stood surrounding the king.

On seeing him, the king was pleased and made him sit in front of

him. "In the past, I waged war accompanied by you, ten great warriors. Now, all by myself I have begun the war against death. I am unable to defeat the enemy, death," the king said.

The *thera* replied, "Great king, the ruler of men, do not be afraid. Without vanquishing the enemy *Defilements*, the lesser enemy *Death* cannot be defeated. All things that are formed must necessarily break down, for it is said by the *master* that all formations are impermanent. Impermanence which has no shame or timidity comes even to the *Buddhas*. Therefore, think that all formations are impermanent, subject to suffering and without a self. In your last birth, too, your attachment to the Dhamma was great. You gave up heavenly bliss when heaven was near at hand, came here and acquired much merit in various ways. Unifying the country under one rule by you was also for the glory of the Faith. You of great merit, recall all the merit you have acquired upto this day. Thus there will, certainly, be happiness to you."

Hearing the *thera's* words, the king was pleased. He said, "In single combat, too, you are my support." Rejoicing, he then had the record of meritorious deeds brought and asked the scribe to read it. He read the book.

"One less than a hundred monasteries were built by the great king; the Maricavaṭṭi-monastery with nineteen crores; the excellent Lohapāsāda built with thirty crores. The priceless things at the Great Thūpa were made with twenty crores. The rest that was done by the wise one, O great king, were worth a thousand crores." Thus he read.

When it was said, "In the mountain-region named Koṭṭa, during the Akkhakhāyika famine, excellent alms of sour millet were obtained by giving two priceless earrings and offered to five great Arahant *theras* with a faith-inspired mind. In the battle of Cūlanganiya, fleeing on being defeated, he had the hour announced and gave, without thinking of himself, the rice from his vessel to the Arahant ascetic who came there through the air," the lord of the earth added:

"During the week of the dedication of the monastery (i.e. Maricavaṭṭi) and during that of dedication of the mansion (i.e. Lohapāsāda) as well as during the week of the commencement of the Thūpa (i.e. Mahathūpa) and likewise during that of the enshrinement of relics, a great and costly alms-giving was held by

me without exception to the enormous Sangha of both categories (*bhikkhus* and *bhikkhunīs*) from the four directions.

"I performed twenty-four Vesākha-festivals. I had the three robes given to the Sangha of the island thrice. With a rejoicing mind, I invested five times in the Faith this sovereignty over the island for seven days on each occasion.

"Paying homage to the *Blessed One*, I have had in twelve places a thousand lamps burning constantly with clarified butter and clean wicks. Perpetually in eighteen places, I had medicine and food for the sick, as prescribed by physicians, given to the sick. I also arranged to be given perpetually along with rice, well-prepared honey porridge at forty-four places, oil-cakes in as many places, and large "lace-cakes" cooked in ghee in as many. I had oil for the lamps given to the temples in the island of Lankā every month on the eight Uposatha-days.

"Having heard that the gift of the Dhamma was greater than the gift of material things and desiring, 'I shall preach to the Sangha the Mangala-sutta in the seat amidst the Sangha below the Lohapāsāda, 'I sat down but could not preach on account of my reverence to the Sangha. Henceforth, I rewarded the preachers and had sermons preached here and there in the temples of Lanka. To each preacher of the Dhamma, I arranged to be given a *nāḷi* each of clarified butter, honey and sugar, a fistful of liquorice, four finger-breadths long, and also two shawls.

"Even all this liberality, when I was reigning, does not please my mind. But really the two gifts, given by me without thinking of my life while I was in adversity, alone, give joy to my mind."

Hearing it, the Thera Abhaya described, so as to please the king's mind, those two offerings alone in various ways: "Of those five *theras*, the Thera Malayamahādeva, who received the sour millet, shared it with nine hundred bhikkhus and partook of it on the Sumanakūṭa-mountain. The Thera Dhammagutta, the producer of earthquakes, enjoyed it himself, having shared it with the *bhikkhus* of the Kalyāṇika-monastery, five hundred in number. The Thera Dhammadinna, residing at Talanga, ate it having given to twelve-thousand in the Piyanguka-island. The Thera Khuddatissa of great miraculous power, residing at Mangaṇa, ate it, having given sixty thousand at Kelāsa. The Thera Mahāvyaggha enjoyed it himself, having given seven hundred at Ukkanagara-monastery. The *thera*, who received the rice in the

vessel partook of it having given twelve-thousand *bhikkhus* at Piyangu-island."

* * *

Saying this, the Thera Abhaya brought joy to the king's mind. The king, having inspired his mind with faith, told the *thera*: "I have myself been a support to the Sangha for twenty-four years. Let my body, too, be a help to the Sangha. May you cremate the body of mine, the servant of the Sangha, in the terrace of the Sangha's ecclesiastical acts at a place from which the Great Thūpa is seen."

He told his younger brother "Dear Tissa, you complete well and carefully all the unfinished work at the Great Thūpa. Offer flowers at the Great Thūpa at dawn and dusk. Have a ceremony of honour to the Great Thūpa conducted thrice. Dear one, you continue without fail all of whatever donations ordered by me for the Faith of the *Blessed One*. Dear one, do not, in any way, be negligent in the duties towards the Sangha." Having admonished him thus, the lord of the earth was silent. At that moment, the community of *bhikkhus* conducted group recitation.

* * *

The deities brought verily six chariots with six gods. Each god, standing in his chariot, implored the king separately, "O king, may you come to our beautiful heaven." The king heard their words and stayed them with a gesture of his hand, "May you be patient as long as I listen to the Dhamma."

The *bhikkhus*, thinking that he was debarring group recitation, stopped it. The king asked for the reason for its stopping. They replied, "On account of your giving a sign 'may you stay." He said "Venerable Sirs, that was not so" and explained it.

Listening to him, some people thought, "Scared by the fear of death, the king is raving." To remove their doubt, the *thera* asked the king: "How can you show that these chariots are brought?"

The wise king had a garland of flowers thrown into the sky. These attached themselves and hung

separately on the chariot poles. Seeing them hanging in the sky, the people dispelled their doubt.

The king asked the *thera* this: "Venerable Sir, which heaven is indeed beautiful." He said, "It is the view of the pious that the city of the Tusitas is beautiful for Metteyya of great compassion, the Buddha-to-be, dwells in the Tusita-city awaiting the time for Buddhahood."

* * *

Having heard the *thera's* words, the great king of great wisdom, looking at the Great Thūpa even as he was lying down, closed his eyes.

Having passed away at that very moment, he was reborn in the chariot that came from Tusita and was seen standing really in divine form. To demonstrate to the people the result of his own meritorious action, he, standing in the chariot itself, showed himself well-adorned, circumambulated the Great Thūpa thrice, worshipped the Thūpa and the Sangha and went to Tusita.

The hall that was built where the dancing girls, having come here, removed their head-ornaments was called "Makuṭamutta-sālā" (Hall where head-ornament was removed). The hall at the place where the people wailed when the body of the king was placed on the pyre was called "Ravivattisāla" (Hall of Lamentation). The terrace outside the precincts of the monastery where they cremated the king's body is called "Rājamālaka" (King's Terrace).

* * *

The king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, the great, worthy among kings, will become the chief disciple of the Blessed One, Metteyya. The king's father and mother will be his father and mother. The younger brother, Tissa the Pious, will be his second disciple. But the king's son, Prince Sāliya will become the son of the Blessed One, Metteyya, himself.

* * *

Whoever, being intent on good, acquires merit covering even plenty of quasi-evil, he goes to heaven as though it were his own home. Therefore, may the wise be constantly attached to merit.

The Thirty-second Chapter called "Going to Tusita-heaven" in the *Mahāvaṃsa* compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE TEN KINGS

In the reign of the king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, the people were prosperous. His renowned son was the royal prince Sāli. He was extremely fortunate and was always attached to meritorious action. He fell in love with an extremely pretty caṇḍāla woman. Enamoured, on account of beauty, of Asokamālādevī, connected to him by previous birth, he did not even desire sovereignty.

* * *

On the death of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, his brother, Tissa the Pious (Saddhā-Tissa) was consecrated and he reigned exactly eighteen years. He, to whom the name Saddhā was given, did the work on the *chatta*, plastering and the elephant-wall of the Great Thūpa. On account of a lamp, the magnificent Lohapāsāda caught fire. He built it again making it seven storeys. Then, the mansion was worth ninety hundred thousand.He also founded the Dakkhiṇa-giri-monastery, the Kallaka-cave, the Kalamba-monastery, likewise those of Pettangavālika, Velangāviṭṭhika, Dubbalavāpi-tissaka, Dūratissakavāpi and also Mātuvihāraka.

Upto Dīghavāpi, he had a monastery built at every *yojana*. He had the Dīghavāpi-monastery constructed with a *cetiya*. There, at the *cetiya*, he had a mantle of various precious stones made; at every joint thereof he hung golden garlands of the size of a cart-wheel.

The ruler also had eighty-four thousand offerings made to the eighty-four thousand sections of the Dhamma. Having thus performed many meritorious deeds, the lord of the earth, on the dissolution of the body, was born among of gods of Tusita.

When the great king Tissa the Pious was residing at Dīghavapi, his eldest son Lañjatissa had the beautiful monastery named Girikumbhila founded and his younger son, Thūlathana, a monastery known as Kandara. Thūlathana accompanied his father who came to his brother (i.e. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi) so as to bestow his i.e. (Thūlathana's) own monastery for use of the Sangha.

* * *

When Tissa the Pious died, all the ministers came together, assembled the entire community of *bhikkhus* at Thūpārāma, and, with the approval of the Sangha, consecrated the prince Thūlathana to protect the country. Having heard of it, Lañjatissa came here, vanquished him and exercised the sovereignty himself. Only for one month and ten days was Thūlathana king.

* * *

For three years, Lañjatissa disregarded the Sangha and neglected it saying, "They did not know the order of seniority." Later, the ruler obtained pardon from the Sangha and, in atonement, had three receptacles of stone for flowers built at the Great Cetiya, spending three hundred thousands.

Thereafter, with a hundred thousand, the ruler of the land filled and levelled the ground between the Great Thūpa and the Thūpārāma. He also made an excellent stone mantle for the *thūpa* of the Thūpārāma, also a small stone *thūpa* in front of the Thūpārāma and the sitting hall Lañjaka for the community of *bhikkhus*.

In the monastery called Cetiya (i.e. Cetiyapabbata), he had a mantle of stone constructed for the Khandhaka-thūpa, spending a hundred thousand. At the dedication of the monastery named Girikumbhila, he had six robes given to sixty thousand *bhikkhus*. He founded the Ariṭṭha-monastery and Kuñjarahīnaka. He had medicines given to *bhikkhus* in villages and as much rice as was needed to *bhikkhunīs*. He reigned here nine years and half a month.

* * *

When Lanjatissa died, his younger brother named Khallāṭanāga reigned exactly six years. To beautify Lohapāsāda, he had thirty-two very beautiful mansions built around Lohapāsāda. Around the Great Thūpa—the beautiful Hemamāli—he had a wall constructed at the boundary of the sand-court. He also had the Kurundāvasoka-monastery founded. The lord of the earth had other meritorious deeds also carried out. A commander of the army, named Mahārattaka vanquished the lord of the earth—the king Khallāṭanāga—in his city itself.

* * *

The king's younger brother, named Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, killed the wicked commander of the army and reigned.

> He had his younger brother's little son, Mahācūḷika, placed in the position of his son. He also made his mother, the queen Anulā, the chief consort. As he was placed in the position of a father they called him '*Pitirāja*' (King-father).

In the fifth month of the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, who was thus consecrated in kingship, an ignorant brahman stripling named Tissa in Nakulanagara in Rohaṇa heard the words of a brahman and became a rebel. His following was great. Seven Damiḷas landed at Mahātittha with troops. Then the brahman Tissa and also the seven Damiḷas sent the lord of the earth a letter demanding the parasol. The king, an expert in polity, sent a letter to brahman Tissa, "Now, itself, the kingdom is yours. You vanquish the Damiḷas." Saying, "All right," he fought with the Damiḷas. They vanquished him.

Then the Damiḷas continued the war with the king. Defeated at the battle near Kolambālaka, (the king was fleeing in a chariot by the gate of the Tittha-monastery (i.e. Jain Monastery).

> Founded by the king Paṇḍukābhaya, the Tittha-monastery was inhabited constantly over twenty-one reigns.

Seeing him fleeing, a *nigaṇṭha,* named Giri, cried out of loudly, "The great black Sinhala is fleeing." The great king heard it and thought in this manner then, "If my aspiration materializes, I will build a monastery here."

He took with him Anulādevī, who was with child, saying, "She must be protected" and also Mahācuḷa and the Prince Mahānāga, saying, "They, too, must be protected." To lighten the weight of the vehicle, the lord of the earth made Somādevī, with her consent, to dismount, having given her his splendid diadem-jewel.

Even on setting forth for battle, he was apprehensive and took with him the two queens and the little son. Being defeated, he could not take the almsbowl used by the *conqueror;* he fled and hid in Vessagiri-forest.

The Thera Kupikkala-Mahātissa, however, saw him there and gave him rice, avoiding the gift of begged food without touching.

Being pleased, the lord of the earth then donated to his temple, land for the Sangha, recording it upon a *ketaka*-leaf. Thence he went to Silāsobbhakaṇḍaka and sojourned there. From there, he went to Mātuvelanga, approaching close to Sāmagalla. There he saw the *thera* he had met before.The *thera* entrusted the king in proper manner to Tanasīva, who was the *thera's* supporter. The king dwelt fourteen years there with the chieftain Tanasīva, being served by him.

Of the seven Damiḷas, one being infatuated, took bewitching Somādevī and went swiftly to the further shore. One took the almsbowl of the *ten-powered one*, which was at Anurādhapura and, being satisfied with it, went swiftly to the further shore.

* * *

But the Damiḷa Pulahattha reigned three years, having made the Damiḷa named Bāhiya, the commander of the army. Bāhiya vanquished Pulahattha and reigned two years. His commander of the army was Panayamara. Panayamara vanquished Bahiya and was king for seven years. His commander of the army was Pilayamara. Pilayamara vanquished Panayamara and was king for seven months. His commander of the army was Dāṭhiya. The Damiḷa Dāṭhiya vanquished Piḷayamāra and reigned two years at Anurādhapura. Thus for those five Damiḷa kings were fourteen years and seven months.

* * *

In Malaya, when the queen Anulā went for food Tanasīva's wife kicked her basket. She was angry and went crying to the king. Hearing it, Tanāsīva took his bow and set out. Before his arrival, the king, having heard the queen's words, took the queen and the two sons and left the place. He of great fortune shot Siva who was approaching him, with the bow drawn.

The king announced his name and won the favour of the people. He found as ministers eight great warriors who were recognized. The king's following was great and so were the previleges.

He of great fame saw the Thera Kupikkalamahātissa and had a ceremony in homage to the *Buddha* conducted at Acchagalla monastery. When the minister Kapisīsa, who had climbed to the courtyard of Ākāscetiya to clear the site, was descending, the lord of the earth who was going up with the queen, saw him seated by the road, became angry that he had not prostrated himself and killed him.

Disappointed with the king, the other seven ministers fled from him, going where they liked. Plundered on the way by robbers, they entered the Hambugallaka-monastery and saw the erudite Thera Tissa. The *thera*, well-versed in the four Nikāyas, had them given such clothes, honey, oil, rice and requisites of guests as had been received.

When they refreshed, the *thera* asked them, "Where are you going?" Having introduced themselves, they informed him of the matter. When they were asked, "With whom is it possible to promote the Faith of the *conqueror*—with the Damiḷas or with the king?" they replied, "With the king it is possible." Having convinced them thus, the two theras Tissa and Mahātissa then took them to the king's presence and made them forgive each other. The king and the ministers requested the *theras*, "When our task is accomplished and you are sent for, you must come to us." The *theras* gave their promise and returned to their respective places.

The king of great fame came to Anurādhapura, slew the Damiḷa Dāṭhika and made himself sovereign. Then the lord of the earth demolished the Nigaṇṭha-monastery and built there a monastery with twelve cells. Thus when two hundred and seventeen years ten months and ten days had elapsed from the establishment of the Mahāvihāra, the lord of the earth, with zeal, founded the Abhayagiri-monastery.

The giver of honours sent for the *theras* and offered the monastery to the Thera Mahātissa, who, among them, was the first to help him.

> As the king Abhaya built it in the
> garden of Giri, the monastery, itself,
> became by name, Abhayagiri.

He had Somādevī brought back and restored her to her rank. He had the Somārāma founded in her name.

The noble lady, who dismounted from the vehicle at that place, saw, while hiding in a *kadambapuppha*-thicket there, a *sāmaṇera* urinating, having covered his genitals with the hand. The king heard her story and built a monastery there.

On a elevated site to the north of the Mahāthūpa, the king, himself, had the *cetiya* named Silāsobbhakaṇḍaka constructed.

* * *

Of his seven warriors, Uttiya built to the south of the city the monastery called Dakkhiṇa. There itself the minister named Mūla built Mūlāvokāsa-monastery. Hence was it so named. The minister called Sāliya built Sāliyārāma. The minister called Pabbata built Pabbatārāma. The minister Tissa built Uttara-tissārāma. When the beautiful monastery was completed, they approached the Thera Tissa and offered it to him saying "We give you the monasteries which were founded by us as a token of goodwill to you."

The *thera* housed everywhere various *bhikkhus* as appropriate. The ministers gave the Sangha various things suitable for recluses. The king tended those in his own monastery with requisites that lacked nothing. Therefore, they were many.

* * *

The Sangha expelled from here (i.e.Mahāvihāra) for the fault of frequenting families, a monk, well-known as Mahātissā, who frequented families. His pupil, known as Bahalamassutissa, being angry, went and resided in the Abhayagiri and developed a partiality to it. Hence forth, these *bhikkhus* did not come to the Mahāvihāra.

In this manner, the Abhayagirikas seceded from the tradition of the *theras*. The ascetics living in the Dakkhina-monastery broke away from the Abhayagirikas. Thus the *bhikkhus* who broke away from the tradition of the *theras* were two fold.

The king had the cells of the monastery joined in clusters, thinking "Thus they will be maintained in good repair."

The *bhikkhus* of great wisdom brought down in oral tradition the text of the Tipiṭaka and also its commentary. Seeing, at that time, the deterioration of the people, the *bhikkhus*, who assembled, wrote them in books for the sake of the perpetuity of the Dhamma.

Thus did the king Vaṭṭagāmaṇi-Abhaya reign twelve years and, at the beginning, five months.

* * *

1. This innovation in monastic architecture, introduced by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi-Abhaya, is borne out by the residential cells of the Abhayagiri when compared with those of the Mahāvihāra.

In this manner does the wise one, having obtained mighty power, accomplish benefit to others and to himself. The foolish one, being greedy of possessions, does not accomplish benefits to either, after obtaining even enormous wealth.

The Thirty-third Chapter called "The Ten Kings" in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE ELEVEN KINGS

After his death Mahācūḷi Mahātissa (i.e. Vaṭṭagāmaṇi--Abhaya's step-son) reigned fourteen years righteously and with justice.

Having heard, that an offering earned with one's own hand is of great merit, in the very first year itself, the lord of the earth went in disguise, harvested rice and, with the wages so obtained, gave alms to the Thera Mahāsumma.

The kṣatriya worked again for three years in a molasses mill at Soṇṇagiri and received molasses as wages. The lord of the earth took the molasses, came to the city and offered a great alms-giving to the community of *bhikkhus*.

He gave clothing to thirty thousand *bhikkhus* and twelve thousand *bhikkhuṇīs*. The ruler of the earth had a well-founded monastery constructed and had the three robes given to sixty thousand *bhikkhus* and thirty thousand *bhikkhuṇīs*. The same king also built the Maṇḍavāpi-monastery, the Abhayagallaka, Vankāvaṭṭakagalla, Dīghabāhukagalla and Jalagāma-monastery. Thus the king, through faith, acquired merit in various ways and at the end of fourteen years passed away.

* * *

The son of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi was known as Coranāga (i.e. Nāga the Rebel). During the reign of Mahācūḷa, he became a rebel and wandered about. When Mahācūḷa died, he came and reigned. The foolish man caused to be destroyed eighteen monasteries where he was not given accommodation during his days as a rebel. Coranāga reigned twelve years. The evil one, having taken poison given by his wife, died and was born in the Lokantarika-hell. After his death, the king Mahācūḷa's son reigned three years only;the king was known as Tissa.

* * *

Coranāga's consort, Anulā the depraved, being infatuated with a palace-guard, killed Coranāga who was also depraved. Being of infatuated mind with that same palace-guard, Anulā

killed Tissa with poison and gave the kingship to the palace-guard. This palace-guard called Siva, who was the senior gate-keeper, made Anulā his chief queen and reigned one year and two months in the city.

Being enamoured of the Damiḷa Vaṭuka, Anulā killed Siva with poison and gave the kingship to him. The Damiḷa Vaṭuka, who was the town-architect in the capital, made Anulā his chief queen and reigned one year and two months in the city.

Anulā saw a wood-carrier who came there; being enamoured of him, she gave him the kingship after killing Vaṭuka. Tissa, the wood-carrier made Anulā his chief queen and reigned one year and one month in the city. He had a lotus-pond made quickly in the Mahāmegha-grove.

Being infatuated with lust for the brahman chaplain—a Damiḷa named Niliya—and desirous of cohabiting with him, Anulā gave poison to Tissa, the wood-carrier, killed him and gave Niliya the kingship. He made her the chief queen, and, being tended by her constantly, reigned six months here in Anurādhapura.

(Desirous of doing what she liked with thirty-two palace--guards), the kṣatriya Anulā killed Niliya with poison. Queen Anulā reigned four months.

* * *

The king Mahācūḷika's second son, Kuṭakaṇṇtissa by name, being scared of the queen Anulā fled, obtained ordination and, in time gathered an army, came here and had Anūla, of evil disposition, killed. The ruler of men reigned twenty-two years.

He built a large Uposatha-hall at Cetiyapabbata. He had a stone *thūpa* constructed in front of the hall. There itself in Cetiyapabbata, he planted a Bodhi-tree.

In Antaragangā, he founded the Peḷagāma-monastery and made there itself the great canal called Vaṇṇaka, the great tank Ambadugga and also Bhayoluppala. Likewise he made a wall seven cubits high and a moat for the city.

Having burned the licentious Anulā in the palace, a new palace was built a little away from there. He constructed the Padumasara-forest-park in the city itself. His mother cleansed her teeth and obtained ordination in the Faith of the *conqueror*. On a housing site, owned by the family, he built a nunnery for his mother.

> By that it was known as Dantageha (Teeth-house).

* * *

After his death, his son, the kṣatriya Bhātikābhaya by name, reigned twenty-eight years.

> On account of his being the brother of the king Mahādāṭhika the lord of the earth, who was righteous, was known in the island as the king Bhātika (i.e. Brother).

Here he repaired Lohapāsāda and constructed two terraces at the Great Thūpa and the Uposatha-hall of what was called Thūpa (i.e. Thupārāma).

Remitting tax due to him, he had *sumana* and *ujjuka* flowers planted over a *yojana* all around the city. The ruler of men had the Great Thūpa daubed with a fragrant paste four finger-breadths thick from the bottom terrace to the top of the *chatta*. He had the flowers embedded there carefully by the stems and made the *Thūpa* resemble a ball of garlands.

Again, he had the *cetiya* daubed with minium to the thickness of eight finger-breadths and made it likewise into a heap of flowers. Again, he had the *cetiya* strewn with flowers from the stairway to the top of the *chatta* and covered it with a mass of flowers. He had water raised from Abhaya-tank with machines and, sprinkling the *cetiya* with water, made an offering of water.

Getting a mass of plaster of a hundred cart-loads of pearls well kneaded with oil, he had the plaster-work done. He had a net of coral[1] made and had it thrown over the *cetiya*; he had lotuses of gold of the size of cart wheels fixed at the joints; from there he had clusters of pearls hung upto the lowest lotus and thus paid homage to the Great Thūpa.

Hearing the sound of group-recitation of Arahants in the relic-chamber, he resolved, "I will not rise without seeing it" and lay

---

1. The Commentary on the *Mahāvaṃsa* says that this coral was imported from Rome. Interestingly, this king's reign coincides with that of Augustus Caesar and, according to Pliny, an embassy from Sri Lanka was received in the court of Rome around this time.

down, fasting, at the foot of the eastern frontispiece. The *theras* created a door and led him into the relic-chamber. The lord of the earth saw all the glory of the relic-chamber and, on coming out offered the *cetiya* with plaster models similar to those inside.

With honey products incense, pitchers, essences, unguents, orpiment and minium; with water-lilies arranged in ankle-deep minimum, having dropped them in showers on the compound of the *cetiya*; with water-lilies arranged in the holes of matting laid over the whole of fragrant clay spread on the compound of the *Thūpa*; with many flames of lamps made of cotton-wicks in clarified butter which was filled there itself, having closed up the outlets for water; with also a great many flames of cotton wicks likewise with *madhuka*-oil and similarly with sesamum-oil;—with these as are thus stated, the kṣatriya made offerings separately seven times.

Being urged by faith, he performed continually every year an excellent plastering ceremony, likewise ceremonies in honour of the Great Bodhi-tree, twenty-eight major Visakha-festivals, eighty-four thousand minor ceremonies, and at the Great Thūpa various plays and dances and concerts of various musical instruments.

Thrice a day he came to attend on the *Buddha,* and twice a day he had drumming at the offering of flowers conducted continually. Continually, he offered alms on the days of festivals and of the pavārana-ceremonies. The kṣatriya gave the Sangha, in abundance, the requisites of recluses such as oil, honey and clothes and also *cetiya*-fields so as to repair the *cetiyas* everywhere.

The lord of the earth continually offered rounds of food by tickets to a thousand *bhikkhus* at the monastery of Cetiyapabbata. At five spots—namely, the three service—halls called Citta, Maṇi and Mucala and likewise the Paduma-hall and the beautiful Chatta-mansion—he, full of reverence to the Dhamma, continually fed the *bhikkhus* engaged in the duty of studying the texts and tended them with the requisites. The lord of the earth, Bhātika, carried out all of whatever meritorious action which had been ordained in connection with the Faith by the kings of the past.

* * *

At the death of the king Bhātika, his younger brother, named

Mahādāṭhika-Mahānāga reigned exactly twelve years, intent on various meritorious deeds. He had *kiñcikkha*-stones laid at the Great Thūpa and also made an extended court bounded by the sand-court. He established a preacher's seat in every monastery of the island.

The lord of the earth had the great Ambatthala-Cetiya constructed. When the masonary work did not hold, he recalled the virtues of the *sage* and, risking his own life, lay down there; having made the masonry work hold, he had the *cetiya* completed. At the four gates he arranged to be erected four gem-set arches, well executed by artists and dazzling with various precious stones. He fastened on the *cetiya* a red woollen covering and fixed thereon golden balls and strings of pearls.

He had a *yojana* decorated around the Cetiyapabbata and had four gates and a beautiful street laid out all around. On both sides of the street he had shops set-up. Having adorned (the road) here and there with flags, arches and triumphal gateways and illuminated all around with festoons of lamps, he had plays and dances, singing and music performed. On the road from the Kadamba-river upto Cetiya-pabbata, he had carpets laid so as to walk with clean feet. There he had arranged theatrical displays with dancing, singing and music. He also had a great alms-giving at the four gates of the city. He had garlands of lamps to be formed without a break throughout the whole island and also over the water of the ocean within a *yojana* around. This splendid ceremony of homage was performed by him at the dedication of the *cetiya*.

> This grand and splendid ceremony of homage is called here "Giribhaṇḍa."

To the *bhikkhus* who had come together at that ceremonial assembly, the lord of the earth arranged alms at eight places. Having eight golden drums beaten there he held a great alms-giving for twenty-four thousand. He offered six robes and also freed prisoners. At the four gates, work was continually done by barbers. The lord of the earth carried out, without neglecting any, all the meritorious action decreed by previous kings and likewise by his brother.

The lord of the earth, even though dissuaded by the Sangha gave away to the Sangha himself, the queen, the two sons and the state elephant and horse. He gave the community of *bhikkhus*

six-hundred thousand worth and the company of *bhikkhuṇīs* a hundred thousand worth. He, who was well-versed in the custom, thus gave suitable articles of different kinds and redeemed himself and the others from the Sangha.

The ruler of men had the monastery called Maṇināgapabbata at Kālāyanakaṇṇika and the monastery called Kalanda, so also Samudda-monastery on the back of Kubukanda-river and the one called Cūlanāga-pabbata at Huvācakaṇṇika.

At the monastery called Pāsāṇadīpaka, which was built by himself, the kṣatriya, being pleased with the service of a *sāmaṇera* who brought him drinking water, gave his monastery a half *yojana* all around for the use of the Sangha. At the Maṇḍavāpi monastery, too, the kṣatriya, being pleased with a *sāmaṇera* likewise, gave his monastery land for the use of the Sangha.

* * *

Having attained abundant power and prosperity, the men of sound wisdom, who have overcome pride and indolence, discarded lust and attachment, and taken delight in meritorious action—being intensely inspired by faith—do, thus, acquire ample and varied merit, without causing distress to people.

The Thirty-fourth Chapter called "The Eleven Kings" in the *Mahāvaṃsa* compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE TWELVE KINGS

After the death of Mahādāṭhika his son, Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi Abhaya reigned nine years and eight months. He had an upper *chatta* made for the beautiful Great Thūpa. There, itself, he caused to be built a basal terrace and an upper terrace. Likewise he constructed at Lohapāsāda and the Uposatha-hall of Thūpārāma an inner courtyard and an inner verandah. At both places, he made a beautiful gem-set pavilion. The ruler of men also had the Rajataleṇa-monastery established.

Dexterous in merit, he made the Mahāgāmeṇḍi-tank in the southern direction and gave it to the Dakkhiṇa-monastery. The ruler of men decreed not to kill over the whole island.[1] He had all kinds of gourds planted here and there. The lord of the earth, Āmaṇḍiya, with a faith-inspired mind, filled the almsbowl with what was called "fleshy melon" and, making for it a holder of cloth gave to the entire Sangha.

By filling the almsbowls (thus) he came to be known as *Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi* (i.e. Melon-Gāmaṇi).

* * *

His younger brother Kaṇirajānu-Tissa killed his brother and the kṣatriya reigned three years in the city. He decided a law-suit concerning the Uposatha-hall of the monastery called Cetiya. The king had sixty *bhikkhus*, who were involved in a crime against him, along with those connected with it arrested and had the evil-doers flung down the precipice called Kaṇira in Cetiyapabbata.

* * *

After the death of Kaṇirajānu, the kṣatriya, Cūlābhaya the son of Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi reigned one year. The ruler of the earth had the Cūlagallaka-monastery founded on the bank of Goṇaka-river, to the south of the city.

* * *

1. i.e. declared the whole island a sanctuary.

After the death of Cūlābhaya, his younger sister, Sīvalī, the daughter of Āmaṇḍa reigned four months.

* * *

Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi's sister's son, Iḷanāga by name, ousted Sīvalī and raised the parasol in the city. In the first year, when the ruler of the people went to Tissa-tank many Lambakaṇṇas deserted him and went to the city. Not seeing them there, the king became angry and had a road to the Great Thūpa constructed by them on the side of the tank, getting them to stamp it down by themselves. He also had *caṇḍālas* appointed as their overseers. Being enraged by it, the Lambakaṇṇas banded together, captured the king, had him imprisoned in his own house and governed the kingdom by themselves.

> Then the king's consort adorned her little son, the prince Candamukha Siva, and sent him in the hands of the serving-women to the state elephant, having given them a message. The serving-women took him there and told the state elephant the whole message, "This is your lord's son. Your lord is in prison. You kill this one. It is better that he is killed by you rather than by the enemies. These are the words of the queen." Having said it, they laid the child near the foot of the elephant. Anguished, the elephant wept, broke the stable-post, entered the palace, felled down the door with its strength, broke down the window of the place where the king was seated, made him sit on its back and went to Mahātittha. There the elephant made the king embark on a ship. Along the western coast it proceeded to Malaya alone.

The kṣatriya lived on the further shore for three years and having raised an army, went to Rohaṇa by ship. The lord of the earth landed at the port of Sakkharasobbha and there in Rohaṇa amassed a great army. The king's state elephant, too, came from southern Malaya to Rohaṇa itself to do its duties.

There he heard the Kapijātaka from a reciter of the Jātakas, the great *thera* named Mahāpaduma, a resident of the Tulādhāra-monastery and, being pleased in the Bodhisatta (i.e. the Buddha in his previous life) made the Nāgamahā-monastery a hundred unbent bow-lengths in extent; he also had the *thūpa* enlarged to how it stands. He also made Tissa-tank and the tank called Dūra.

Having raised an army, the king set out for war. The Lambakaṇṇas heard it and prepared for battle. In the field of Hankārapiṭṭhika at the Kapallakkhaṇḍa-gate, the battle between the two—which caused harassment to each other—took place.

On account of being physically exhausted by the voyage, the king's men were yielding their ground. Therefore, the king proclaimed his name and entered the battle by himself. Frightened by it, the Lambakaṇṇas fell upon their bellies. The king's men beheaded them and heaped their heads to the height of the hub of a chariot. When it was thus repeated thrice, the lord of the earth out of compassion, said, "Capture them alive, without killing them."

From there, the lord of the earth who had won the battle, came to the city, raised the parasol and went to the festivity at the Tissa-tank. Emerging from water-sports, the king, well-adorned and decked with ornaments, saw his glory and prosperity. Recalling the Lambakaṇas who endangered it, he was enraged and had them yoked to the chariot in a succession of pairs. Ahead of them, he entered the city.

Standing on the threshold of the palace, the king ordered, "Men, behead them at this threshold." Then being admonished by his mother, "O lord of chariots, these yoked to your chariot are your oxen. Therefore, have their horns and hoofs, cut off," he stopped the beheading. The king had their nose and toes cut off. The kṣatriya gave the elephant the region where it lived.

> By that it became Hatthibhoga--region by name.

Thus the lord of the earth, Iḷanāga, the kṣatriya reigned exactly six years at Anurādhapura.

* * *

At the death of Iḷanāga, his son, the king Candamukha-Siva reigned eight years and seven months. The lord of the earth had a tank made at Maṇikāra-village and gave it to the monastery called Issarasamaṇa. The chief queen of the king, who was known as the

Damiḷa queen,[2] too, donated her own revenue from that village to it.

* * *

His younger brother known as Yasalālakatissa, killed Candamukha-Siva at the sports in the Tissa-tank and reigned seven years and eight months in beautiful Anurādhapura, the charming face of Lankā. The gate-keeper Datta's son, named Subha,—himself a gate-keeper—was like the king in appearance.

For fun the king Yasalālaka adorned the military official Subha with royal regalia and had him seated on the throne. The king wrapped round his head the turban of the military official and stood at the door-post, taking the staff in his hand. The king used to laugh when the ministers worshipped the door-keeper who was seated on the throne. He was doing so from time to time.

The military official, one day, asked the king who was laughing, "Why does this military official laugh in my presence?" and had the king killed. Subha, the military official, reigned here six years. He was known as the king Subha.

* * *

In the two great monasteries,[3] the king Subha caused to be constructed a beautiful row of cells called by the very name 'Subharāja'; likewise Valli-monastery near Uruvela, Ekadvāra in the east and Nandigāmaka at the edge of the Gangā.

* * *

A son of a Lambakaṇṇa, named Vasabha, a resident of the northern district, served his uncle, the commander of the army. At that time, on account of the prophesy that one named Vasabha would become king, the king had every one named Vasabha in the island killed.

The commander of the army consulted his wife and saying, "We

2. It is apparent that the support which Iḷanāga marshalled in South India to regain his throne resulted in a matrimonial alliance in which his son Candamukha-Siva married a Tamil princess.
3. (i.e. Mahāvihāra (the Great Monastery), established by Devānampiya-Tissa and Abhayagiri-*vihāra*, established two centuries later by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi-Abhaya, both at Anurādhapura.

shall give this Vasabha to the king", departed for the royal palace at dawn. In order to protect Vasabha, she gave him who was going with the commander, betel without lime. At the door of the palace, the commander of the army noticed that the betel was without lime and sent Vasabha for lime. The wife of the commander of the army told the secret to Vasabha who had gone for lime, gave him a thousand and helped him to flee.

Vasabha, then, went to the Mahāvihāra and was treated by the *theras* there with milk, food and clothes. Afterwards, having heard the word of a leper confirming the prophesy as regards kingship, he, being overjoyed, resolved, "I shall become a rebel."

Having obtained capable men, he, then went to Rohaṇa pillaging villages according to the advice on the pan-cake[4]; gradually annexing territory, he, with a competent army and cavalry, came near the city and killed the king Subha in battle. Vasabha with a great army raised the parasol in the city. His uncle, too, fell in battle. The king Vasabha made the uncle's wife named Potthā—who helped him at first—his chief queen.

He asked the soothsayer about his span of life and he told him in strict secrecy that it would be twelve years. The lord of the earth had a thousand given to the soothsayer to guard the secret, assembled the Sangha, worshipped them and asked, "Could there be, Venerable Sirs, a means of increasing one's span of life?" The Sangha declared, "There is, O ruler of men, a way to remove the dangers: one should make gifts of water-strainers, dwellings and requisites of the sick. Likewise, one should repair dilapidated dwellings (of the Sangha). One should take upon one's self the five precepts and observe them well. Uposatha-fast should also be observed on the Uposatha-day." The king said, "All right," went and did everything accordingly.

At the end of each period of three years, the lord of the earth had three robes given to the entire Sangha of the island. To the *theras* who did not come, he sent them. He had honey-porridge distributed at thirty-two places and held a great mixed almsgiving at sixty-four places. He had a thousand lamps lit at these

4. A common theme in folk-tales of several cultures which describes how a young rebel or warrior learns military strategy from a woman who teaches him how to eat a pancake (or similar item of food) systematically.

four places namely, the Cetiyapabbata, the *cetiya* of the Thūpārama, the Great Thūpa and the Great Bodhi-tree-house.

He built ten beautiful *thūpas* at Cittalapabbata and repaired the dilapidated dwellings (of the Sangha) all over the island. In the Valliyera-monastery, he, being pleased with the *thera*, built a *vihāra* named Mahāvalligotta. He founded Anurārāma near Mahāgāma and had it given a thousand and eight *karīsas* at Heḷigāma.

He built Mucela-monastery in Tissavaḍḍhamānaka and had the water-share of Āḷisāra given to the monastery. He made a brick mantle for the *thūpa* at Galambatittha and also built an Uposatha-hall. To provide oil for its lamps, he made and offered a thousand-*karīsa* tank. He also built an Uposatha-hall in the monastery at Kumbhigallaka.

The lord of the earth, moreover, built here the Uposatha-hall at Issarasamaṇaka and the *thūpa*-house at Thūpārāma. In the Mahāvihāra, he constructed a row of cells facing the west and repaired the Catusālā which was dilapidated. This same king had four beautiful Buddha-images and likewise a house for the image made in the beautiful compound of the Great Bodhi-tree.

The consort of the king, by named Potthā, built there, itself, an attractive *thūpa* and also a beautiful thūpa-house. The lord of the earth, having completed the *thūpa*-house at the Thūpārāma offered a great alms-giving at the ceremony of completion.

At the four gates of the city, he arranged to be given requisites to *bhikkhus* engaged in the word of the Buddha, similarly, clarified butter and honey to *bhikkhus* expounding the Dhamma, food for the poor and, for sick *bhikkhus*, things needed by the sick.

To ensure a plentiful supply of food, he constructed eleven tanks—namely, Cayantī, Rājuppala, Vaha, Kolambagāmaka, Mahānikkhavaṭṭi, Mahārāmetti, Kohāla, Kāli, Cambuṭi, Cāthamangaṇa and Aggivaḍḍhamānaka and twelve canals.[5]

For protection, he raised the city-wall to what it is; he made gate-towers at the four gates and also a palace. He had a pond made in the garden and put swans in it. The lord of the earth

5. Vasabaha's involvement in extensive irrigation projects in various parts of the country is borne out by contemporary epigraphical records.

caused many lotus-ponds to be made in the city at various places and had water brought in there through underground canals.

The lord of the earth, Vasabha, always attached to meritorious action, acquired, in this manner, merit of various kinds and, having overcome dangers, reigned forty-four years in the city.He also performed forty-four Vesākha-festivals.

* * *

The king Subha, while living, sent his only daughter to a brick-mason, being anxious through fear of Vasabha. He also sent his cloak and royal regalia. When he was killed by Vasabha, the brick-mason received her and, placing her in the position of a daughter, brought her up in his house. The girl brought rice to him while he did his work.

She saw in a thicket of *kadambapuppha* one who had, for seven days, entered the trance of the cessation of consciousness; the wise girl gave him the rice. She prepared rice again and took in to the father.Being asked for the reason for the delay, she told him the matter.Being pleased, he had her offer rice to the *thera* again and again.

The *thera*, having become acquainted, foresaw her future and told her, "Little maiden, when your fortune arises, may you remember this place." At that very time, the *thera* passed away.

* * *

When his own son, Vankanāsika-Tissa, came of age, the king Vasabha had a search made for a maiden suitable to him. The men, who were specialists in the characteristics of women, saw this maiden in the brick-mason's village and informed the king. The king arranged to have her brought.Then the brick-mason told him of the fact of her being the daughter of a king. He, further made it known with the cloak etc. that she was the daughter of king Subha. Being pleased, the king gave her to his son, having performed well the auspicious ceremonies.

After the death of Vasabha, his son Vankanāsika-Tissa reigned three years in Anurādhapura. The king Vankanāsika-Tissa founded a monastery named Mahānangala on the bank of Goṇ-river. The queen Mahāmattā, however, recalling the utterance of the *thera*, amassed wealth to construct a monastery.

* * *

After the death of Vankanāsika-Tissa, his son, Gajavāhuka-Gāmaṇi reigned twenty-two years. Hearing the mother's words, the king founded for the mother, the Mātu-monastery at the place of the thicket of *kadambapuppha*. His wise mother gave a hundred thousand for the land and also had a *vihāra* built for the great monastery. He, himself, had a *thūpa* of stone built there and, having bought from here and there, gave land for the use of the Sangha.

He caused the great *thūpa* of the Abhayuttara-monastery to be constructed, having made it larger. There, itself, at the four gates, he had frontispieces made. The lord of the earth had the Gāmaṇi-Tissa tank made and gave it to the Abhayagiri-monastery for its subsistence.

He had a mantle made for the Maricavaṭṭi-thūpa. Having purchased for a hundred thousand, he also gave land for the use of the Sangha. In the last year, he founded the monastery called Rāmuka. He also had the Mahejāsana-hall constructed in the city.

* * *

After the death of Gajabāhu, the king's brother-in-law, Mahallaka-Nāga, reigned six years. Even during this limited time, the lord of the earth, Mahallaka-Nāga, founded these seven monasteries: Sejalaka in the east, Goṭapabbata in the south; Dakapāsāṇa in the west; Sālipabbata in Nāgadīpa; Tanaveli in Bījagāma; Tobbala-nāgapabbata in the Rohaṇa region and Girihālika the inland country.

* * *

In this manner, the wise acquire much merit through worthless wealth and attain the most excellent. The fools, on the other hand, through delusion, do much evil on account of lust.

The Thirty-fifth Chapter called "The Twelve Kings" in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE THIRTEEN KINGS

After the death of Mahalla-Nāga, his son Bhātika-Tissa ruled the kingdom of Lankā for twenty-four years. He had a wall built around the Mahāvihāra. The lord of the earth founded the Gavaratissa-monastery; he also made the Mahāmaṇi-tank and gifted it to the monastery. He built the monastery named Bhātika-tissa and also an Uposatha-hall at the beautiful Thūpārāma. The lord of the earth also had the Randhakaṇḍaka-tank made. Being of a tender mind towards living beings and being excessively deferential to the Sangha, the ruler of the earth held a great almsgiving to both Sanghas. (i.e. *bhikkhus* and *bhikkhuṇīs*).

* * *

After the death of Bhātika-Tissa, his younger brother Kaniṭṭha-Tissa reigned eighteen years in the island of Lankā. Being pleased in the Thera Mahānāga of Bhūtārāma, he constructed the Ratanapāsāda at Abhayagiri. He also had the wall and even the great Pariveṇa at the Abhayagiri built and so, too, the great Pariveṇa called Maṇisoma. There itself he built a *cetiya*-house and likewise one at Ambatthala. He further did the restoration of the temple at Nāgadīpa.

Disregarding the boundary of Mahàvihāra, the lord of the earth caused the row of cells called the Kukkuṭagiri to be constructed there in due form. In the Mahāvihāra, the ruler of men had twelve beautiful and attractive four-sided mansions built.

He had a mantle made for the *thūpa* of the Dakkhiṇa-monastery and constructed a refectory, disregarding the boundary of the Mahāmegha-grove. Moving the wall of the Mahāvihāra to a side, he also had a road leading to the Dakkhiṇa-monastery built. He also caused to be founded the *vihāra* of Bhūtārāma, Rāmagoṇaka and the *ārāma* of Nandatissa.

Towards the east, the ruler of men founded the Anulatissa-pabbata-monastery in the Gangarājī, the Niyelatissārāma, Pīlapiṭṭhi-monastery and the Rājamahā-monastery. He himself had Uposatha-halls built at three places; namely, the Kalyāṇika-

monastery, Maṇḍalagiri and the monastery called Dubbalavāpitissa.

* * *

After the death of Kaniṭṭha-Tissa, his son known as Khujja-Nāga reigned two years. Khujja-Nāga's younger brother, Kuñca-Nāga killed the king—his brother and—reigned one year in Lankā. The lord of the earth enlarged the Mahāpāli and maintained, without interruption, five hundred *bhikkhus* during the Ekanāḷika-famine.

* * *

At that time, Sirināga, the commander of the army, the brother of the king Kuñca-Naga's consort, became a rebel against the king; equipped with cavalry and infantry, he came to the city and, fighting with the king's army, chased away Kuñca-Nāga, the lord of the earth. Being victorious, Sirināga reigned over Lankā in splendid Anurādhapura nineteen years.

The lord of the earth had a *chatta* made for the noble Great Thūpā and had attractive and beautiful gold work done. He had the Lohapāsāda built reduced to five storeys. He also had the stairway at the four doors to the Great Bodhi-tree restored. Having had the *chatta* and the *pāsāda* constructed, he held a ceremony of homage at the dedication. Motivated by compassion, he remitted the levy called *kulambana* throughout the island.

* * *

After the death of Sirināga, his son, Tissa, well-versed in juridical practice, reigned twenty-two years.

> Since he established here the juridical practice free of oppression, he acquired thence the name 'King Vohārika-Tissa' (Legal-minded Tissa).

Having heard the Dhamma from the Thera Deva, a resident of Kappukagāma, he provided medical treatment at the five monastic residences. Being pleased with the Thera Mahātissa, resident of Anurārāma, he installed a series of alms-givings in a food-canoe.

Having constructed the Tissarāja-pavilion in the two great monasteries, erected two bronze images in the eastern temple of the Great Bodhi-tree and built the Sattapaṇṇaka-mansion, which was comfortable to live in, he had a thousand donated every month to the Mahāvihāra.

He also had work on the *chatta* done at the eight *thūpas* in Abhayagiri, Dakkhiṇamūla, Mahāgāmanāga, Maṇināgatissa and Kalyāṇika.

He had the walls erected at these six monasteries: Mūlanāgasenāpati, Dakkhiṇa, Maricavaṭṭi, Puttabhāga, Issarasamaṇa and Tissa at Nāgadīpa. He also had an *Uposatha*-hall constructed at Anurārāma.

In the entire island of Lankā, at each place where the Ariyavaṃsa was recited, he installed a series of alms-givings through his deference to the true Dhamma. The ruler of men, taking delight in the Faith, spent three hundred thousand and redeemed indebted *bhikkhus* from their debts.

He held a great Vesākha-festival and had the three robes given to every one of the *bhikkhus* dwelling in the island. He suppressed the Vetulya-doctrine, subdued the heretics through the minister Kapila and illuminated the Faith.

* * *

The king's younger brother, who was known as Abhayanāga, was in love with the queen. Being found out, he fled through fear of his brother and went with his servants to Bhallatittha. Pretending to be enraged, he had his uncle's hand and foot cut off. Leaving him here so as to bring about dissension in the king's territory, Abhayanāga himself boarded a ship and went to the further shore, taking with him his most faithful servants to whom was shown the example of a dog.[1]

* * *

The uncle Subhadeva, however, went to the king and, pretending to be his friend, brought about dissension in the country. Abhaya, to find it out, sent here a messenger. Seeing him, Subhadeva smote all around an arecanut-palm with the shaft of his

1. The relevant example here is that a dog even when maltreated still remains loyal to its master.

spear while walking round the palm, weakened its roots and felled it with only his arm. He threatened the messenger and chased him away. The messenger went and informed the matter to Abhaya.

Knowing it,[2] Abhaya himself took many Damiḷas and came from there to the city to wage war against his brother. Knowing it, the king mounted a horse with the queen, fled and came to Malaya. His younger brother pursued the king, killed him in Malaya and returned taking with him the queen.

* * *

The lord of the earth reigned eight years in the city. The king constructed a stone railing around the Great Bodhi-tree and also a pavilion in the compound of the Lohapāsāda. Buying various kinds of cloth for a two hundred thousand, he made offerings of garments to the community of *bhikkhus* in the island.

* * *

After the death of Abhaya, his elder brother Tissa's son, Sirināga, reigned two years in Lankā. Having restored the wall around the Great Bodhi-tree, the lord of the earth built in the sand-court itself of the same Great Bodhi-tree temple, beyond the Mucela-tree, the beautiful *Haṃsavaṭṭa*[3] and also a grand pavilion.

* * *

Sirināga's son named Vijayakumāra reigned one year after the death of the father. In Mahiyangana, there were three Lambakaṇṇa friends: Sanghatissa, Sanghabodhi and, the third, Goṭhakābhaya. As they were coming for royal service, a clever blind man, who had come to the edge of the Tissa-tank, said by the sound of their footsteps, "The ground bears these three lords of the earth."

Abhaya, who was walking last, heard it and questioned him. He repeated it. He asked him again, "Whose dynasty will endure?"

2. Cutting the roots around the arecanut palm and pushing it down easily was actually a coded message meant for Abhaya-Nāga. It meant that the subjects had been alienated from the king and the king's fall required only a little effort.
3. Literally, a circle of swans. Whether it was a building or an ornamental structure is not clear.

He said, "That of the last." Having heard it, Goṭhakābhaya went with the other two. The three of them entered the city and, becoming great favourites of the king, lived close to him, performing royal duties.

* * *

Together they killed the king Vijaya in the palace and two of them consecrated Sanghatissa, the commander of the army, in kingship. Thus consecrated, Sanghatissa reigned four years in excellent Anurādhapura.

He had the *chatta* and the gold work at the Great Thūpa done. The lord of the earth had four large gems, each worth a hundred thousand, placed in the centre of the four suns and likewise a priceless diamond ring on the spire of the Thūpa. At the dedication-ceremony of the *chatta*, the ruler of men gave six robes to forty thousand members of the Sangha.

Having heard the discourse in the Kandhaka, which expounds the virtues of rice-gruel, from the Thera Mahādeva, a resident of a Dāmahālaka, he was pleased and had rice-gruel given to the Sangha well and properly at the four gates of the city.

From time to time, the king went to Pācinadīpa with the women of the harem and the ministers to eat *jambu*-fruits. Being oppressed by his coming, the people inhabiting Pācinadīpa poisoned the fruits of the *jambu*-tree from which the king was to eat. Having eaten those *jambu*-fruits, he died there itself.

* * *

Abhaya consecrated in kingship Sanghabodhi who was entrusted with the army. The king, renowned as Sirisanghabodhi, observing the five precepts, reigned two years at Anurādhapura. In the Mahāvihāra he built a beautiful house for food-tickets.

Then the king knew that the people of the island were oppressed by drought and with his mind shaken by compassion, lay himself on the ground in the courtyard of the Great Thūpa, having made this resolution: "Unless I am raised by the water that would rain, I shall never rise even if I am to die here." When the lord of the earth lay down thus, it rained immediately reviving the great earth of the entire island of Lankā. Even then he did not rise as

he was not floating in water. Then the ministers blocked the pipes of the water-outlets. Then the righteous king, floating in water, rose. Thus did he dispel, through compassion, the honour of a drought in the island.

The king, having heard that bandits had appeared here and there, had them brought to him and caused them to flee in secrecy. He had bodies of dead people brought secretly, had them burnt and eliminated the oppression by bandits.

A yakkha named Rattakkhi came here and, in different places, made the eyes of people red. The people saw the red eyes of one another and, taking fright, died. Without anxiety, the yakkha devoured them. The king heard of their distress and, with an anguished mind, observed the eight Uposatha-precepts and lay down alone in the fasting chamber thinking, "I shall not rise without seeing the yakkha." By the power of his righteousness, the yakkha came to him. Being asked by the king, "Who are you?" he answered, "It is I." He told the yakkha, "Why do you devour my people? Do not eat them." The yakkha said, "Give me the men of one region." When the king said, "It is not possible," he came down gradually to one. The king said, "I cannot give anyone else. Eat me." The yakkha saying "It is not possible," begged for oblations in every village. The lord of the earth said "All right" and, having settled him at the village-gates in the entire island, had him offered oblations. In this manner was averted the fear of a great pestilence by this great being—the light of the island—who was compassionate to all beings.

The king's treasurer, the minister Goṭhakābhaya, (i.e. the third of the three princes) became a rebel and marched against the city from the north. The king, not desiring to harm others, took his water-strainer and fled by the southern gate all by himself.

A man, going along the road taking a packed meal, urged the king to partake of the rice. Full of compassion, he strained the water, partook of the meal and, to do him a favour, said these words, "I am the king Sirisanghabodhi. Friend, take my head and show it to Goṭhābhaya. He will give you much wealth." The man did not wish to do so. For his benefit, the lord of the earth died even as he was seated. The man took his head and showed it to Goṭhābhaya. Being amazed, he gave the man wealth and performed appropriately the funeral rites for the king.

* * *

Thus this Goṭhābhaya—also known as Mahāmeghavaṇṇābhaya—reigned thirteen years in Lankā. He built a palace and, at its gate, a pavilion. He decorated it and had a thousand and eight *bhikkhus* from the Sangha seated there every day; he rejoiced them with various kinds of fine gruel as well as soft and hard food, along with robes, and held a great alms-giving. He conducted it thus without interruption for twenty-one days.

In the Mahāvihāra, he constructed an excellent pavilion of stone. He had the pillars of the Lohapāsāda turned and re-erected. He also had the stone railing of the Great Bodhi-tree, the archway of the northern gate and pillars, with the wheel-symbol, at the four corners set up. He installed three stone images at three gates and had a throne of stone placed at the southern gate.

Behind the Mahāvihāra, he had a meditation-ground made. He renovated all the dilapidated monastic residences in the island. He also restored the *thūpa*-house of the Thūpārāma, of the Therambatthalaka and the monastery called Maṇisoma and also the *Uposatha*-halls at the Thūpārama, the Maṇisoma-monastery, the Maricavaṭṭika and the monastery called Dakkhiṇa.

He also founded a new monastery called Meghavaṇṇābhaya. At the dedication of the monastery, he assembled thirty thousand *bhikkhus* living in the island and presented six robes to them. Then he did likewise the great Vesākha-festival and every year he had the Sangha given six robes.

* * *

Purifying the Faith through the suppression of heretics, he seized sixty *bhikkhus* of the Abhayagiri, who upheld the Vetulya-doctrine and were thorns in the Faith of *Conqueror*, and had them rebuked and banished to the further shore.

A Coḷá *bhikkhu*, Sanghamitta by name, who was a specialist in the knowledge of demons, had apprenticed himself to a *thera* who

had been banished there. Being enraged with the *bhikkhus* of the Mahāvihāra, he came here.[4]

This indisciplined *bhikkhu* entered an assembly at the Thūpārāma and, objecting to the word when the Thera Goṭhābhaya, the king's maternal uncle—who resided there in the Sanghapāla-Pariveṇa—addressed the king by his name, became a favourite of the king. Being pleased with him, the king entrusted to him the elder son Jeṭṭhatissa and the younger son Mahāsena. The *bhikkhu* got round the second. The prince Jeṭṭhatissa scorned that *bhikkhu*.

* * *

After the death of the father, Jeṭṭhatissa became king. During the father's funeral rites, the lord of the earth departed by himself so as to punish the wicked ministers who did not wish to go with him and placed his younger brother in front, then the body of the father and after that the ministers. He himself was behind all. When the younger brother and the body of the father had gone out, he had the door closed immediately and the wicked ministers killed and impaled on stakes around the father's funeral pyre.

By this act he got the appellation "Kakkhala" (the wicked).

The *bhikkhu* Sanghamitta, being frightened of the king, consulted Mahāsena and, looking forward to his consecration, went from here tô the further shore at the time of the king's consecration.

Jeṭṭhatissa built upto seven storeys—worth a crore of money—the excellent Lohapāsāda which was left unfinished by his father. He offered to it a gem worth sixty thousand and named it Maṇipāsāda (i.e. Gem-mansion).

He donated two gems of great value to the Great Thūpa. He

4. Details of this episode, which had been omitted from the *Mahāvamsa*, are recorded in later historical works. According to them, Goṭhābhaya did not merely banish the sixty heretical monks to South India. They were branded. Sanghamitta saw the marks on the back of his teacher and, on inquiring, found out that the dispute was with the Mahāvihāra, the centre of orthodoxy in the island. Hence Sanghamitta's decision to take revenge from this institution.

had three archways erected at the Great Bodhi-tree temple. He founded the Pācīnatissapabbata-monastery and gave it to the Sangha of the five monastic residences.

Jeṭṭhatissa, the lord of the earth, brought from the Thūpārāma and installed in the Pācīnatissapabbata-monastery the beautiful great stone image which in the past was placed at the Thūpārāma by Devānampiyatissa.

He bestowed the Kālamattika-tank on the Cetiyapabbata-monastery. Having performed the dedication ceremonies for the monastery and the mansion as well as the great Vesākha-festival, he gave six robes to thirty thousand members of the Sangha. Jeṭṭhatissa also built the Ālambagāma-tank. Thus doing various meritorious works starting with the construction of the mansion, the king reigned ten years.

* * *

Considering that sovereignty over men, which is a source of merit of many forms, is also a source of much evil, a man of pious mind will never be attached to it like unto delicious food mixed with poison.

The Thirty-sixth Chapter called "The Thirteen Kings" in the *Mahāvamsa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XXXVII

KING MAHĀSENA

After the death of Jeṭṭhatissa, his younger brother the king Mahāsena reigned twenty-seven years. Finding it opportune, the Thera Sanghamitta came here from the further shore to perform his consecration in kingship.

Having performed his consecration and other duties in various ways, the indisciplined one, desirous of destroying the Mahāvihāra, persuaded the lord of the earth saying, "The residents of the Mahāvihāra do not adhere to the Vinaya. O King, we are the ones who adhere to the Vinaya" and had a royal penalty imposed: "Whoever gives food to the *bhikkhus* resident in the Mahāvihāra should be fined a hundred.[1]"

Harrassed by these, the *bhikkhus*, resident in the Mahāvihāra abandoned the Mahāvihāra and went to Malaya and Rohaṇa. By it, this Mahāvihāra was abandoned for nine years and was depleted of resident *bhikkus*.

The foolish *thera* persuaded the foolish king saying, "Ownerless property belongs to the king" and obtained the approval of the king to destroy the Mahāvihāra. He of a wicked mind engaged men to do so.

The ruthless minister Soṇa, the servant of the Thera Sanghamitta and a favourite of the king, and shameless *bhikkhus* demolished the excellent seven-storeyed Lohapāsāda and took from here to Abhayagiri buildings of various types. With many mansions brought from the Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagiri-monastery became rich with mansions.

Owing to the evil friend, the Thera Sanghamitta and his servant Soṇa, the lord of the earth committed a great deal of evil. The lord of the earth brought the great stone image from Pācinatissapabbata and installed it in the Abhayagiri. He built an image-house, a Bodhi-tree-temple, a beautiful relic-hall and a four-sided

* * *

1. A fragmentary inscription rebuking the *bhikkhus* of the Mahāvihāra, which was found in Anurādhapura, and now exhibited in the National Museum, Colombo, is identified as this edict.

hall and restored what was called Kukkuṭa. On account of the ruthless action of Sanghamitta, the Abhayagiri-monastery then became attractive.

* * *

The minister named Meghavaṇṇābhaya—the king's friend who performed all his duties—became angry over the destruction of the Mahāvihāra, turned into a rebel, went to Malaya, levied a large army and pitched camp by the Dūratissaka-tank. The lord of the earth heard that his friend had come there, and, having marched forth to wage war against him, pitched camp.

Having received good drink and food brought from Malaya, Meghavaṇṇābhaya thought, "I shall not enjoy them without my friend, the king." Taking it all by himself, he departed alone in the night, went to the king's presence and informed him of the matter. Trusting him, the king ate with him what was brought and asked him, "Why have you become a rebel against me?" He said, "Because of the destruction of the Mahāvihāra by you." The king replied thus: "I will cause the monastery to be occupied. Forgive me my fault." He forgave the king. Persuaded by him, the king returned to the city. Having persuaded the king, Meghavaṇṇābhaya, however, did not go with the king on account of having to collect the building material.

A daughter of a scribe—the favourite wife of the king—grieved over the destruction in the Mahāvihāra and, enraged thereby, induced a carpenter to kill the *thera* who came to destroy the Thūpārāma. She thus had the Thera Sanghamitta of evil action killed. They also killed the ruthless and indisciplined minister Soṇa.

Meghavaṇṇābhaya brought building material and built many cells in the Mahāvihāra. When the fear was allayed by Abhaya, the *bhikkhus* came from here and there and resided in the Mahāvihāra. The king had two bronze statues made and installed on the west side of the Great Bodhi-tree-temple.

* * *

Being pleased with the indisciplined, hypocritical evil friend, Thera Tissa of a crooked mind, the king constructed—despite his being dissuaded—the Jetavana-monastery in the garden named Joti within the boundary of the Mahāvihāra.

He requested the community of *bhikkhus* to annul the precinct from there. Not willing to do so, *bhikkhus* left the monastery. To prevent the annulment of the precinct by others, some *bhikkhus* hid here and there. The Mahāvihāra was thus abandoned by *bhikkhus* for nine months. The other *bhikkhus* thought, "We have annulled the precinct." Then when the effort to annul the precinct was over, *bhikkhus* returned here and resided in the Mahāvihāra.[2]

Referred to the Sangha was a valid accusation of an offence of the gravest nature against the Thera Tissa who had received the monastery. The chief minister, who was then recognized to be righteous, expelled him from the order, despite the king's disinclination.

* * *

The same king founded the Maṇihīraka-monastery. He built three monasteries after destroying the deva-temples at Gokaṇṇa, Erakāvilla and the brahman-village of Kalanda. He founded the monasteries of Migagāma, Gangāsenakapabbata and in the west, Dhātusenapabbata. The king also built the great monastery of Kokavāta.

He also constructed the Thūpārāma-vihāra, the Hulapiṭṭhi-monastery and also two nunneries called Uttara and Abhaya. He built a *thūpa* at the site of Yakkha Kālavela and renovated many dilapidated monastic residences in island.

He gave offerings worth a thousand each to a thousand senior *theras* of the Sangha and robes every year to all the *theras*. There is no record of his gifts of food and drink.

To ensure a plentiful supply of food, he had sixteen tanks built: Maṇihīra, Mahāgāma, Challūra, Khānu, Mahāmaṇi,

2. To understand the full significance of this episode, it is important to refer to the rules of discipline (Vinaya) of the Buddhist Order. A Sīmā (loosely translated as a precinct) is established by the Sangha through prescribed procedures and ceremonies for purposes of ecclesiastical acts such as ordination, fortnightly confessional and recital of rules. A Sīmā, once established, cannot be annulled other than through prescribed procedures and ceremonies. This cannot be done, however, if other members of the Sangha are present. Hence the strategy of *bhikkhus* hiding themselves to render the attempted annulment null and void.

Kokavāta, Dhammaramma, Kumbālaka, Vāhana, Rattamālakanda, Tissavaḍḍhamānaka, Velangaviṭṭhika, Mahāgallaka, Cīra, Mahādāragallaka and Kālapāsāṇa are these sixteen tanks. From the Gangā he built the great canal named Pabbanta.

Thus he acquired a great deal of merit and demerit.

THE MAHĀVAMSA ENDS

APPENDIX I

PLACE NAMES

(The *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions the ancient names of many places in both the Indian Sub-continent and Sri Lanka. Most of them are identifiable either because the ancient names persist, though modified due to linguistic evolution or inscriptions *in situ* make the identification possible. In some cases, corroborative literary evidence from other sources have been helpful. In the list below are also legendary place-names which defy identification with known places)

Ācāraviṭṭhi - in the region of Käbitigolläva in North-Central Province.

Acchagalla - ? Valasgala in Southern Province.

Ahogangā - a mountain in the upper reaches of river Gangā in North India.

Āḷisāra - älahära in Central Province.

Ambaṭṭhakola - A district about 80 km south of Anurādhapura.

Ambatthala - the highest peak at Mihintale.

Anotatta lake - one of the seven legendary lakes of the Himalayas in North India.

Antaragangā - region between Mahaväli-ganga and Māduru Oya in North Central Province.

Anurādhapura - capital of Sri Lanka from circa 4th century B.C. to circa 10th century AC. The name persists. In North Central Province.

Aparantaka - region in North-western India comprising Northern Gujarat, Kāthiāwar? Kachch and Sindh.

Ariṭṭha-mountain - Riṭigala near Anurādhapura, North Central Province.

Avanti - the kingdom of which Ujjeni (present Ujjain) was the capital. North of the Vindhyā range and north-east of Bombay. Roughly corresponding to Mālwa.

Vārāṇasī - the city by the same name on the bank of river Gangā in India.

Bhallatittha - a port in northern Sri Lanka; not identified.

Candanagāma - an ancient village in Rohana, Southern Province; not identified.

Cetiyapabbata - Name given to Missāka-pabbata (=Mihintale) after Buddhist missionaries established a monastery there. Literally, Mountain of Cetiyas.

Cittalapabbata - Situlpavuva in Southern Province.

Coḷa-country - Tamil kingdom of South India extending from the Coromandal coast to Penner River.

Cūlangaṇiyapiṭṭhi - ? Yudaganāpiṭiya in lower Uva Province.
Dakkhiṇamadhurā - Reference to a Madhurā in the South, signifying Madurai in Tamil Nadu, India, indicates that the existence of two Madhurās (or Mathurās) was known.
Dīghavāpi - tank and region still called by the same name in Eastern Province.
Dhūmarakkha - Diṁbulāgala in North Central Province.
Doḷapabbata - Doḷagala in North Central Province.
Dvāramaṇḍala - Demitigama near Mihintale in North Central Province.
Erakāvilla - Eravur in Eastern Province.
Gambhīra-nadī - Kanadarā Oya to the North of Anurādhapura in North Central Province.
Gangā - (1) the great North Indian river, generally referred to as Ganges. (2) Mahavāligaṅga, the longest river in Sri Lanka. Definitely a case of toponymic duplication on the part of early Aryan settlers from the Gangetic basin.
Gangārājī - a sub-region to the north of Mihintale in North Central Province.
Giribbaja - another name for Rājagaha (Rajgīr) in Bihar, India.
Girikaṇḍa - ? Giritale in Polonnaruwa District, North Central Province.
Girikumbhīla - identified though inscriptions *in situ* at Bakki-āla, Batticoloa District, Eastern Province.
Gokaṇṇa - Trincomalee. Eastern Province.
Goṇaka-river - Kalā Oya in North West Province.
Goṇagāma - Gokannagāma.
Goṭha-sea - sea to the east and south-east of Sri Lanka. "Silent Sea".
Guttahāla - Buttala in lower Uva.
Heḷigāma - a village close to Tissamahārāma in Southern Province.
Huvācakaṇṇika - a sub-region of lower Uva, possibly extending in ancient times to the east coast.
Jambudīpa - a general name in ancient times to the Indian sub-continent.
Jambukola - Sambilturai near Kankesanturai, Jaffna Peninsula in Northern Province.
Jetavana - a monastery in Sāvatthi at Saheth Maheth in North India.
Kacchakatittha - Kasātoṭa, Māgantoṭa on Mahavālingaṅga.
Kadamba-river - Malvatu Oya or Aruvi Aru flowing through Anurādhapura and Mannar district.
Kājaragāma - Kataragama, famed for its jungle shrine. Southern Province.
Kālinga - Ancient name for Orissa in India.
Kalyāṇi - Kālaṇiya near Colombo, Western Province.
Kapilavatthu - not too far from Lumbiṇi in Nepal.
Kāsa-mountain - Kahallēgama in North Central Province.
Kāsi - Vārāṇasi

Kolambahālaka - a place to the north and close to Anurādhapura.
Kosambi - Oudh in Bihar, India.
Koṭṭhamalaya - ? Kotmale in Central Province.
Koṭṭhisāra - Koṭṭiyār in Eastern Province.
Koṭṭhivāla - North-west projection of Bintenna Division in Eastern Province.
Kubukanda-nadī - Kuṁbukkan Oya in Lower Uva Province.
Kusinārā - Kushinagar near Gorakhpur in Bihar, India.
Lābugāmaka - Labunoruva near Anurādhapura in North Central Province.
Lāḷa - Lāṭa. Identified with Gujarat in Western India.
Lanka - the ancient name for Sri Lanka.
Lankanagara - a city of yakkhas, the aborigines of Sri Lanka. Location unidentified.
Madhura¨ Madurai in Tamil Nadu, India.
Magadha - ancient kingdom in North Indian within Bihar.
Mahāgāma - Tissamahārāma in Southern Province.
Mahākandara-river - another name for Mahavālingaṅga.
Mahisamaṇḍala - identified with Mysore in India.
Mahiyangaṇa - a shrine in Bintenna Division; the name persists
Malaya - a region in Sri Lanka consisting of the entire mountain region in the centre and foothills.
Maṇḍalagiri - Mādirigiriya near Polonnaruwa in North Central Province.
Maṇḍvāpi - Maṇḍalagala in Yala, Southern Province.
Mangaṇa - in Jaffna Peninsula in Northern Province. Location unidentified.
Maṇihīra - Minnēriya near Polonnaruwa, North Central Province.
Maṇikāra - Māningamuva near Anurādhapura, North Central Province.
Nāgacatukka - a pond in Mihintale
Nāgadīpa - the ancient name for the Jaffna Peninsula.
Nakulanagara - a town close to Guttahāla (Buttala), Lower Uva Province.
Nitthulaviṭṭika - Neṭolpitiya in Southern Province.
Pācinadīpa - ? Iranaitīva South, an island off Northern Province.
Pācīnapabbata - Puliyankulamakanda near Anurādhapura North Central Province.
Pācinatissapabbata - to the east of Anurādhapura, North Central Province.
Paṇḍu - South Indian kingdom of Pāṇḍyas, whose capital was called Southern Madhurā (q.v.Dakkhina-Madhurā)
Pāṭaliputta-Sanskrit: Pāṭaliputra, the capital of the Maurya Empire. Paṭnā in Bihar, India.
Payāga - Sanskrit: Prayāga, the confluence of Gangā and Yamunā in Allahabad in Uttar Pradesh, India.

Peḷagāma - identified by inscriptions *in situ* as Mōlāhiṭiyevelēgala, south of Diṁbulāgala. North Central Province.
Peḷivāpikagāma - ? Vauvnikkulam in Vavuniya District, Northern Province.
Piyangalla - Nelugala, close to Punanai, Batticoloa District. Eastern Province.
Pupphapura - another name for Pāṭaliputra.
Rājagaha - Rājgīr, Bihar, India.
Rājaraṭṭha - Literally, the land of the king. One of the three major divisions of ancient Sri Lanka. Generally identified as to the North and West of Mahavāli-gaṅga and north of possibly Kalugaṅga. During the early times it comprised the whole of Northern Province, North Central Province, North Western Province and the northern part of Eastern Province.
Rajataleṇa - Ridīvihāra, near Kurunegala, North Western Province.
Rāmagāma - a village in the Koliya kingdom on the banks Gangā in India.
Rohaṇa - One of the three major divisions of ancient Sri Lanka. Identified as to the south and east of Mahavāligaṅga and south of Kalugaṅga. It comprised the whole of Southern and the major part of Eastern Province.
Sāmagalla - Moragalla in Matale District, Central Province.
Sirīsavatthu - a city of the yakkhas said to be in existence at the time Vijaya came to Sri Lanka.
Sumanakūṭā - the sacred mountain Srī Pāda; also called Adam's Peak.
Suvaṇṇabhūmi - tentatively identified as Lower Burma and Thailand.
Tāmalitta - Sanskrit: Tāmralipti. Ancient Indian port in Gangetic delta. Tamluk in West Bengal.
Talanga - Talaguru in Yala North Intermediate Zone in Southern Province.
Tambapiṭṭha - Tambalāgaṁ in Trincomalee District, Eastern Province.
Tissamahārāma - in Mahāgama. Now the town itself is called Tissamahārāma.
Ujjain - Ujjain in Madhaya Pradesh, India.
Uruvelā - (1) near Buddha Gaya in India; (2) a port near the estuary of Kalā Oya, North Western Province.
Uttarakuru - a mythical region. One of the four great continents according to the Buddhist cosmology.
Vanga - identified with Bengal, India.
Vedisagiri - Bhilsa near Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh, India.
Vesāli - identified with Basrah in Muzafferpur, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Vessagiri - ? Galgiriyāva near Galgamuva-Nikavāva road in Kurunegala District, North West Province.
Yoṇaloka - literally, Yona-realm or world. A collective name for Greek

colonies and kingdoms which arose to the west of the Indian sub-continent after the invasion of Alexander.

Appendix II

GLOSSARY OF PĀLI WORDS AND NAMES, BUDDHIST CONCEPTS ETC.

Abhidhamma - Metaphysics; the third "basket" or major division of the Buddhist Canon.

Act of Reconciliation - a form of atonement provided for a member of the Sangha deemed guilty of offences concerning the laity; consists of explaining, in the company of an appointed agent of the Sangha, the point in dispute to the laity.

Act of suspension - a form of punishment inflicted by the Sangha on a member deemed to have committed a grave offence.

Affirmation of truth - Saccakiriya : a solemn declaration on oath. The usual assertion is in the form "If this be true, may my wish come true."

Aggregates - *khandha* - five aspects in which Buddhism sums up all mental and physical phenomena of existence: namely, (1) form; (2) feeling, (3) perception, (4) mental formations and (5) consciousness. Also presented in two groups as Nāma-rūpa (literally name and form).

Akkhakkhāyika famine - a famine so named as the people were reduced to eating wild nuts.

Ammaṇa - a measure of capacity.

Analytical knowledge - Paṭisambhidā: four kinds of knowledge, namely, of meaning (*attha*), of Dhamma (q.v), of language (*nirutti*) and perspicuity in expression (*paṭibhāna*).

Arahant - one who has realized the highest state of liberation according to the Buddhist Path of Deliverance; a saint.

Ariya - saints; those who have attained one of the eight stages of the Path of Deliverance. Literally, noble one.

Ārāma - a garden; in Buddhist terminology it also means a monastery or hermitage.

Ariyavaṃsa - a Sutta on the austere life of a recluse; recommended for study in Asoka's edicts and recited in a special ceremony in ancient Sri Lanka.

Bhikkhu - literally 'mendicant.' A Buddhist monk.

Bhikkhuṇi - feminine of *bhikkhu*. A Buddhist nun.

Bhūtas - supernatural beings, ghosts, spirits or demons.

Bodhi - literally 'enlightenment'; applied in the Chronicle to the tree under which a Buddha attained enlightenment. e.g. the *pipal* tree, (*ficus religiosa*) under which the Gotama Buddha attained enlightenment. In the *Mahāvamsa*, the term Bodhi or Mahābodhi is used to

mean both the original tree at Buddha Gaya and the sapling which was brought from it and planted in Anurādhapura.

Bodhighara - literally 'Bodhi-tree house'; refers to the structure constructed as protection and adoration around a Bodhi-tree in Sri Lanka. Usually translated as "Bodhi-tree temple."

Bodhisatta - literally 'Enlightened-being.' Buddha to-be or a person destined to be a future Buddha. Prince Siddhattha upto his enlightenment is referred to as Bodhisatta.

Brahma - (i) (also called Mahābrahma) the creator-god of Brahmanical thought, depicted in Buddhist literature as serving the Buddha; (ii) a celestial being inhabiting the highest level of heavenly worlds in Buddhist cosmology.

Brahma-world - (Brahmaloka), the highest level of heavens in Buddhist cosmology.

Brahman - a member of the highest (or priestly) caste according to the Hindu social organization.

Buddha - the Enlightened One. In Buddhist literature, reference is made to many Buddhas preceding the historical Buddha Gotama. In the Chronicle, the twently-four Buddhas whom Gotama Buddha encountered in his previous existences are mentioned. Specially mentioned are the last three Buddhas among them.

Bull's eye - (*gavakkha*) a window so designated on account of the shape.

Cankers - (*āsava*) taints, corruptions, intoxicants: or biases: four in number, namely (1) sense-desire, (2) desire for eternal existence, (3) wrong views, and (4) ignorance.

Caṇḍāla - an outcaste; a member of the lowest caste, usually engaged as scavengers.

Celestial river - (*ākāsagangā*), A mythical river which is believed to have descended to earth as Gangā.

Cetiya - literally, a mount. A synonym for Pāli *thupa*, the Buddhist *tope*.

Cetiya-fields - fields donated to monasteries so that the revenue derived from them could be utilized for the maintenance and repair of *Cetiyas*.

Chatta - literally 'Umbrella'. One or more stone umbrellas which were erected on top of a cetiya. Also refers to the synoptic conical structure or *tee* or *hti* into which the series of umbrellas over a *cetiya* has developed in Sri Lanka and elsewhere.

Damiḷa - (Sinhala: Demaḷa; Tamil : Tamuḷ) Tamil.

Daṇḍanāyaka - literally the leader of a column; a military title.

Defilements - (*kilesa*) unwholesome qualities or impurities which are gradually to be suppressed and eradicated as one progresses in the Path of Deliverance.

Deva - heavenly being; god; deity.

Devatā - deity

Deva-temple - apparently temples dedicated to Hindu gods.

Doṇa - a measure of capacity.

Dhamma - Doctrine; translated in earlier works as 'Law'; the teachings of the Buddha.

Ecclesiastical acts - acts performed by the Buddhist Sangha according to the rules of discipline: e.g. ordination, higher ordination, fortnightly recital of rules of discipline. These acts are performed in prescribed precincts called simā or simā-mālaka or mālaka in Pāli.

Eight auspicious symbols - eight symbols believed to be auspicious. Several parallel lists are in existence: one list consists of conch-shell, wheel, full pitcher, thunderbolt, hand-drum, goad, flag and svastika.

Ekanāḷika famine - so named as rice had been rationed to one *Nāḷi* (a measure of capacity).

Elephant wall - a popular architectural feature of large *cetiyas* in Sri Lanka in the form of a retaining wall enclosing the compound. So named as the wall was moulded to depict a line of closely arranged tusked elephants.

First Fruit - (Sotāpatti-phala) the first stage in the Path of Deliverance, when the seeker becomes free of the first three fetters, namely Personality-belief, sceptical doubt and attachment to mere rules and rituals.

Five-eyed - an epithet for the Buddha, the five eyes being (1) the physical eyes and supernormal psychic abilities reflected as (2) divine eye, (3) eye of enlightenment, (4) eye of wisdom and (5) universal eye.

Five monastic residences - five recognized monastic establishments of the Mahāvihāra or the Great Monastery of Anurādhapura, mentioned in the Chronicle and inscriptions around third century A.C. The five institutions, however, have not been conclusively identified.

Five weapons - a traditional list of weapons: One list includes bow, sword, spear, club and disc.

Food-ticket - see *salāka*

Fourfold requisites - the basic requisites of a Buddhist *bhikkhu* or *bhikkhuṇī*: robe, begged food, shelter and medicaments.

Fruit - (*phala*) a stage of realization in the Path of Deliverance. The Path consists of four stages each of which is divided further into two sub-stages called *magga* (Path, meaning entry into the process of reaching the next higher stage) and *phala* (Fruit, meaning the realization of the stage). The process of attaining the highest bliss of liberation consists of the Path of Stream-winner-the Fruit of Stream-winner-the Path of Once-returner-the Fruit of Once- returner-the Path of Non-returner-the Fruit of Non-returner-Path of Arahant-the Fruit of Arahant. At each stage, the seeker suppresses or eradicates a number of Defilements (q.v.).

Frontispiece - an architectural feature of Sri Lankan *cetiyas*. Called Vahalkaḍa in Sinhala. A decorative structure at the four cardinal points around a *cetiya*.

Full pitcher - (*puṇṇaghaṭa*), an ornamental feature in Sri Lankan architecture. Consists of a pitcher or vase with flowers, usually carved of stone in the round. Symbolizes plenty.

Going forth - (*pabbajjā*) receiving ordination as a *bhikkhu* or *bhikkhuṇi* by renouncing lay life.

Higher ordination - (*upasampadā*) assumption of higher rules of discipline as a *bhikkhu* or *bhikkhuṇī*; allowed only after 20 years of age.

Indra - see Sakka.

Insight - (*vipassanā*) a form of meditation directed to the realization of the reality of existence.

Jātakas - stories of the previous lives of the Buddha.

Jaṭila - an ascetic with matted hair.

Kahāpaṇa - a unit of currency.

Kālanāga - a mythical king of Nāgas (=cobras) said to be so long-lived that he had seen all four Buddhas of this aeon.

Kamma - the Buddhist doctrine of reward and retribution for volitional action.

Kankuṭṭhaka - a kind of soil or mould of a golden or silver colour.

Karīsa - a measure of extent.

Ketumālā - "garland of rays," a ray of light said to emanate from the head of the Buddha.

Khandhaka - a book of the Vinaya Piṭaka of the Buddhist Canon.

Kiñcakkha stones - ? stones laid in a floral pattern in a courtyard.

Kinnarī - a mythical being: halfwoman half-bird. masculine: *kinnara*

Kṣatriya - (Pāli:*khattiya*) A member of the warrior caste; ruler. The Chronicle often calls a king simply as a kṣatriya.

Kulambana - a tax in the form of a share of grain on the basis of the extent of land cultivated.

Lambakaṇṇa - (long-eared) a clan which apparently specialised as civil servants (e.g. scribes) in the Sinhala Court. Led a revolution against the ruling dynasty and wrested the throne for themselves around the first century A.C.

Learner - (*sekha*) a seeker for liberation who has not yet realized the state of an Arahant.

Lion-cage - a window so named because its cross-bars were similar to those of a lion-cage

Lohakumbhi - Name of a hell in the Buddhist cosmology

Lohapāsāda - (metal-mansion), the name given to an edifice of the Mahāvihāra-complex of Anurādhapura. Now popularly called the "Brazen Palace." So named because of the copper tiles of its roof when constructed by Duṭṭhagāmani-Abhaya.

Lokantarika - name of a hell in the Buddhist cosmology

Mahābrahmā - see Brahmā

Mahākāla - see Kālanāga

Mālaka - literally, terrace. Also used in the Chronicle to signify a precinct declared for ecclesiastical acts. See '*Ecclesiastical acts*'.

Mantle - (*Kañcuka*) - an englobing course of brickwork by which a *cetiya* is enlarged and strengthened from time to time.

Māra - (literally, Death), an allegorization of temptation which the Buddha (and also his disciples) had to encounter and overcome in the search for Deliverance. The Buddhist parallel of Satan. The Buddha's enlighenment is represented as a victory over Māra and his hosts. In these accounts, Māra is depicted as having thousand arms bearing weapons.

Marumba - a kind of imported bonding material. ? gypsum.

Metteyya - name of the next Buddha. Called Metteyya-bodhisatta, he is depicted in literature as residing in Tusita heaven awaiting the opportune moment to descend to earth and become Buddha.

Mudhavedi - upper railing. An architectural feature of a Cetiya in early times before it acquired the present shape and features.

Nāga - (i) mythical creatures in the form of serpents or cobras with miraculous power to assume human form; (ii) possibly an aboriginal tribe whom the Aryans encountered and assimilated in Sri Lanka.

Nāḷi - a measure of capacity.

Name - (*Nāma*) a collective term for psychic or mental aspects of existence. See Aggregates.

Nanda - the half-brother of the Buddha; Nanda's ordination on the day of his wedding is a popular episode in the Buddha's biography.

Nibbāṇa - the *sumnum bonum* of Buddhism.

Nigṇtha - (fetterless); the term in Buddhist literature to signify a Jain; disciple of Jina Mahāvira, whose is referred to in the Buddhist Canon as Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta.

Nikāya - (i) the name of the five major divisions of the Sutta Piṭaka of the Buddhist Canon: e.g. Dīgha Nikāya, Majjhima Nikāya etc.

(ii) with reference to schisms and divisions in the Sangha, a sect or a school.

Non-returner - (Anāgāmi) the third stage in the Path of Deliverance. So designated as the seeker who had attained this stage would not be reborn in a human existence. See '*Fruit*'.

Once-returner - (Sakadāgāmi) the second stage in the Path of Deliverance. So designated as the seeker who had attained this stage would be reborn in a human existence only once before he or she attains Nibbāṇa. See 'Fruit'.

Ordination - (pabbajjā), literally going forth or wandering forth. See 'Going forth' and also 'Higher Ordination'.

Paccekabuddha - an enlightened one - a Buddha - who has attained enlightenment by his own effort but does not undertake a mission to lead others to liberation. Translated sometimes as 'Silent Buddha'

Pādavedi - lower railing. See 'Muddhavedi'.

Pañcasikha - a divine musican whose encounters with the Buddha are narrated in several Suttas of the Buddhist Canon.

Parasol - symbol of sovereignty. See '*White parasol*'

Path - see '*Fruit*'. When the Chronicle describes the outcome of a sermon by a great preacher, it says that so many people attained the Path and Fruit, meaning the intermediary and final stages of the four states in the process of Deliverance.

Pavāraṇa - a special ceremony at the conclusion of the Lent during the rainy season. At this ceremony, each member of the Sangha formally requests others present to proclaim any lapses in discipline on his proclaim any lapses in discipline on his or her part.

Piṭaka - literally "basket". The three major divisions of the Buddhist Canon : namely, Abhidhamma, Sutta and Vinaya.

Precinct - see '*Ecclesiastical Acts*' and '*Simā*'

Rāhula - the Buddha's son, who was ordained at the age of seven years.

Rājāyatana - tree—Buchanania latifolia. The episode in the Chronicle on god Sumana relates to the belief that trees were abodes of certain populat deities.

Refuges and Precepts - (*Sarana* and *Sīla*); the conversion to Buddhism is signified by accepting the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha as one's *refuges* and observing the five *precepts* to avoid killing, stealing, unchastity, lying and intoxicants.

Relics - sacred objects worshipped by Buddhists from very early times; Consist of three categories: *bodily (sāririka)* - e.g. hair when alive and bones, teeth etc. from the Buddha's funeral pyre; *used objects* (*pāribhogika*) -e.g. the almsbowl, the belt, the Bodhi-tree at Gaya and its sapling at Anurādhapra etc.; and *symbolic representations* (*uddesika*) e.g. statues.

'*Sādhu*' - Literally, 'it is good' or 'it is well.' Traditional acclamation similar in use to 'amen' in Christian congregations.

Sakka - always described as *Sakka devānam in do* - Sakka the lord of gods. Rulers over Tavatimsa heaven. Represented in Buddhist literature as devoutly serving the Buddha. Aslo called Inda (—Sanskrit : Indra).

Salāka - food-ticket. A system of allocating meals to members in Buddhist monasteries with the use of slips of wood as tickets.

Sāmaṇera - Novice. An ordained monk prior to receiving higher ordination. Feminine: *Sāmaṇerī*.

Saṃsāra - Cycle of rebirth.

Sangha - Collective name for the community of *bhikkhus* and *bhikkhuṇīs*.

Sanghatthera - literally, the elder of the community. Senior *thera*. Probably a title accorded to the most senior thera and not an administrative position.

Ṣāriputta - the chief disciple of the Buddha. The other was Moggallāna.

Senses - (*indriya*) Buddhism recognizes six senses: visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, tactile and cogitational (i.e. eye, ear nose, tongue, body and mind). One is enjoined to train one's self to master the senses.

Sīhaḷa - Pāli term for the Sinhalas, the Aryan settlers of Sri Lanka whose history is the subject-matter of the Chronicle.

Sindhu-horses - the best breed of horses, according to Buddhist literature,came from Sind region in the north-west of the Indian Sub-continent.

Sineru - a mythical mountain. Also called Meru. Said to form the centre of the world according to Hindu and Buddhist mythology.

Six Supernatural Powers - (Chaḷabhiññā). Also called supernormal knowledges. They are (I) miraculous power, (2) divine ear, (3) penetration of others' minds, (4) divine eye, (5) remembrance of former lives, and (6) extinction of all cankers (—attainment of Arahanthood)

Stream-winner - (Sotāpanna) the first stage in the Path of Deliverance. So designated as the seeker who had attained this stage has launched himself on a stream which eventually lead to Nibāṇa. See 'First Fruit' and 'Fruit.'

Supaṇṇa - a mythical bird said to be the natural enemy of serpents. Also called Garuḍa.

Sutta - discourse, sermon. The teachings of the Buddha are presented as Suttas: e.g. Ratana-Sutta.

Sutta Piṭaka - the second major division of the Buddhist Canon. See *Nikāya*.

Tathāgata - literally, 'he who has attained the reality.' A frequently used synonym for Buddha.

Tāvatiṃsa - one of the six heavens of the lower plane in the Buddhist cosmology. See '*Sakka*.'

Tee - the tapering pinnacle of a *cetiya*. See '*cetiya*' and '*chatta*'.

Ten Precepts - ten precepts observed by particularly devout persons and those in the novitiate. They pertain to (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) sexual intercourse, (4) lying, (5) intoxicants, (6) eating after midday, (7) dancing, singing and shows, (8) garlands, perfumes, cosmetics and ornaments, (9) Luxurious seats and beds and (10) gold and silver.

Thera - literally 'elder' A senior *bhikkhu*.

Theravāda - literally, 'the tradition of the Theras or elders.' The official designation for the primitive Buddhism which flourishes in Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and India. Erroneously called Hinayāna. Sometimes called 'Southern Buddhism.'

Three robes - (*Ticīvara*) *Bhikkhus* and *Bhikkhuṇīs* are enjoined to wear three robes: (1) sensuous world, (2) fine-material world, and (3) immaterial world.

Threefold higher knowledge - (*tevijjā*) (1) rememberance of previous existences, (2) divine eye, and (3) extinction of all cankers.

Thūpa - See *Cetiya*

Thūpa-house - A shrine peculiar to Sri Lanka consisting of a house of pavilion built to protect *cetiya*.

Timbaru - Father-in-law of Pañcasikha (q.v.)

Tipiṭaka - literally, 'three baskets'. The collective name for the Buddhist Canon. The three baskets are Vinaya Piṭaka, Sutta Piṭaka and Abhidhamma Piṭaka (q.vv).

Trance of the Cessation of Consciousness - (Niroda-samāpatti). Also translated as 'attainment of extinction' or 'extinction of feeling and perception.' A trance or absorption of the highest order when all consciousness and mental activity is suspended temporarily. An attainment within the reach of a Non-returner or Arahant (q.v.)

Triple Gem - (*ratanattaya*) - a collective term to signify the Buddha, the Dhammma and the Sangha - the three treasures (also called three refuges). See 'Refuges and Precepts.'

Tusita - one of the six heavens of the lower plane in the Buddhist cosmology.

Twin Miracle - (*yamaka pāṭihāriya*) A miracle attributed to the Buddha. In it the Buddha rose to the sky and issued forth simultaneously fire from the upper part of the body and water from the lower.

Uppalavaṇṇa - lilterally, 'water lily coloured'. The name of an ancient autochthonous god of Sri Lanka. Later equated to the Hindu god Viṣṇu.

Uposatha-day - Buddhist 'sabbath' days: i.e. 8 and 14/15 days of the waning (dark) and waxing (bright) fortnights of the lunar calendar. Observed as holy. Sinhala: Poya. See '*Uposatha precepts*'

Uposatha-kamma - An ecclesiastcal act to be performed by the monks and the nuns resident within an area. Consists of mutual confession and recitation of the Rules of Discipline.

Uposatha Precepts - eight precepts observed by the Buddhist laity on Uposatha-days. Same as the Ten Precepts (q.v.) with the tenth omitted and the seventh and eighth combined into one as the seventh.

Usabha - a measure of height.

Vassāna - literally, rainy season. The Buddhist Sangha has been required a observe the four months of the rainy season (July to October) as a period of retreat or Lent, spending all the time in residence at one place. Strictly observed even today.

Vedikā - railing, As an architectural feature of a *cetiya*, it meant the kind Buddhist railing, seen in the early *cetiyas* of India as well as in illustrations of *cetiyas* in sculpture. As the railing disappeared from the Sri Lankan *cetiyas*, with vestiages represented only sumbolically in mouldings, the term has created much confusion. In some contexts, it means a terrace.

Vetulyāda - Mahāyāna teachings. Apparently a mistaken Palicization of Vaipulyavāda, based on Mahāyāna texts called Vaipula-sūtra.

Vibhajjavāda - 'Doctrine of Analysis.' A description of the Theravāda.

Vihāra - (1) Monastic complex; monastery. (2) also used to signify a shrine within a monastic complex.

Vinaya - Rules of discipline applicable to the Buddhist Sangha. *Vinaya Piṭaka* - the first 'basket' or section of the Buddhist Canon dealing with rules of discipline and monastic observances of monks and nuns.

Vissakamma - the chief architect, designer and decorator among gods. Sakka is usually depicted as assigning him tasks.

Western Queens - a class of deities for whom Paṇḍukābhaya erected a shrine in Anurādhapura. Apparently a cult which was prevalent among the early Aryan settlers in Sri Lanka.

Wheel symbol - The doctrine of the Buddha is symbolized from ancient times as a wheel, on the basis of the simile applied to his very first sermon as "the discourse of turning the Wheel of Dhamma." The wheel has been a sacred symbol by itself as exemplified specially by Thai sculpture.

White Parasol - (*setacchatta*) the symbol of sovereignty. The assumption of kingship is described by the expression "raising the white parasol."

Worlding - (*puthujjana*), applied to persons who had not entered the path of Deliverance.

Yakkha - (1) Demon, non-human (2) An aboriginal tribe resident in Sri Lanka at the time of the advent of Aryan settlers. The human and non-human attributes have been often confused as a result of the two separate meanings of the word.

Yojana - a measure of distance. Roughly 7 miles or 10 kilometres.

APPENDIX III

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF KINGS

No.	Name	Reference: Dip.	Reference: Mah.	Length of Reign: Dip. Y. M. D.	Length of Reign: Mah. Y. M. D.	Traditional Dates according to Buddhist Era	Christian Era as established by external evidence
1.	Vijaya	9.42	7.74	38 – –	38 – –	1-38	not later than 400 B.C.
	Interregnum	11.9	8.5	1 – –	1 – –	38-39	
2.	Paṇḍuvāsudeva	10.5	9.25	30 – –	30 – –	39-69	not settled
3.	Abhaya	10.7	10.52	20 – –	20 – –	69-89	not settled
	Interregnum	11.11	10.105	17 – –	17 – –	89-106	not settled
4.	Paṇḍukābhaya	11.4	10.106	70 – –	70 – –	106-176	
5.	Muṭasiva	11.5 (17.78)	11.4	60 – –	60 – –	176-236	not settled
6.	Devānampiyatissa	17.92	20.28	40 – –	40 – –	236-276	252-212 B.C.
7.	Uttiya	17.93	20.57	10 – –	10 – –	276-286	not settled
8.	Mahāsiva	18.45	21.1	10 – –	10 – –	286-296	not settled
9.	Sūratissa	18.46	21.3	10 – –	10 – –	296-306	not settled
10.	Sena						not settled
11.	Guttika	18.49	21.11	12 – –	22 – –	306-328	not settled
12.	Asela	18.48	21.12	10 – –	10 – –	328-338	not settled
13.	Eḷāra	18.49 (27.6)	21.14	44 – –	44 – –	338-382	not settled not settled
14.	Duṭṭhagāmaṇi	18.54	32.35,57	24 – –	24 – –	382-406	161-137 B.C.
15.	Saddhātissa	20.7	33.4	18 – –	18 – –	406-424	137-119 B.C.
16.	Thūlathana	20.8	33.19	– 1 10	– 1 10	424-	119 B.C.
17.	Lañjatissa	20.9	33.28	9 6 –	9 – 15	424-433	119-109 B.C.
18.	Khallāṭanāga	20.12	33.29	6 – –	6 – –	433-439	109-103 B.C.
	(Mahārattaka)	20.13	—	– – 1	– – –	—	
19.	Vaṭṭagāmaṇi	20.14	33.37	– 5 –	– 5 –	439-	103 B.C.
	Five Damiḷas	20.15–17	33.56–61	14 7 –	14 7 –	439-454	103-89 B.C.
20.	Pulahattha (3 y.)						
21.	Bāhiya (2 y.)						
22.	Panayamāra (7 y.)						
23.	Piḷayamāra (7 m.)						
24.	Dāṭhika (2 y.)						
(19)	Vaṭṭagāmaṇi	20.19	33.102	12 – –	12 – –	454-466	89-77 B.C.
25.	Mahācūḷī Mahātissa	20.22	34.1	14 – –	14 – –	466-480	77-63 B.C.
26.	Coranāga	20.24	34.13	12 – –	12 – –	480-492	63-51 B.C.
27.	Tissa	20.25	34.15	3 – –	3 – –	492-495	51-48 B.C.

No.	Name	Reference: Dip.	Reference: Mah.	Length of Reign: Dip. Y. M. D.	Length of Reign: Mah. Y. M. D.	Traditional Dates according to Buddhist Era	Christian Era as established by external evidence
28.	Siva	20.26–30	34.18–27	1 2 –	1 2 –	495-499	
29.	Vaṭuka	20.26–30	34.18–27	1 2 –	1 2 –	495-499	
30.	Dārubhatikatissa	20.26–30	34.18–27	1 1 –	1 1 –	495-499	48-44 B.C.
31.	Niliya	20.26–30	34.18–27	– 3 –	– 6 –	495-499	
32.	Anulā	20.26–30	34.18–27	– 4 –	– 4 –	495-499	
33.	Kuṭakaṇṇatissa	20.35	34.30	22 – –	22 – –	499-521	44-22 B.C.
34.	Bhātikābhaya	21.30	34.37	28 – –	28 – –	521-549	22 B.C.–7 A.C.
35.	Mahādāṭhikamahānāga	21.33	34.69	12 – –	12 – –	549-561	7-19 A.C.
36.	Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi	21.37	35.1	9 8 –	9 8 –	561-571	19-29 A.C.
37.	Kaṇirajānutissa	21.38	35.9	3 – –	3 – –	571-574	29-32 A.C.
38.	Cūlābhaya	21.40	35.12	1 – –	1 – –	574-575	32 A.C.
39.	Sīvalī	21.41	35.14	– 4 –	– 4 –	575	33 A.C.
	Interregnum	—	35.27	– – –	3 – –	575-578	33-36 A.C.
40.	Iḷanāga	21.43	35.45	6 – –	6 – –	578-584	36-43 A.C.
41.	Candamukhasiva	21.45	35.46	8 7 –	8 7 –	584-593	43-52 A.C.
42.	Yasalālakatissa	21.46	35.50	8 7 –	7 8 –	593-601	52-60 A.C.
43.	Subharāja	21.48	35.56	6 – –	6 – –	601-607	60-67 A.C.
44.	Vasabha	22.11	35.100	44 – –	44 – –	607-651	67-111 A.C.
45.	Vaṅkanāsikatissa	22.12, 27	35.112	3 – –	3 – –	651-654	111-114 A.C.
46.	Gajabāhukagāmaṇi	22.14, 28	35.115	22 – –	22 – –	654-676	114-136 A.C.
47.	Mahallanāga	22.17, 29	35.123	6 – –	6 – –	676-682	136-143 A.C.

No.	Name	Reference: Dip.	Reference: Mah.	Length of Reign: Dip. Y. M. D.	Length of Reign: Mah. Y. M. D.	Traditional Dates according to Buddhist Era	Christian Era as established by external evidence
48.	Bhātikatissa	22.22, 30	36.1	24 – –	24 – –	682-706	143-167 A.C.
49.	Kaniṭṭhatissa	22.25, 31	36.6	18 – –	18 – –	706-724	167-186 A.C.
50.	Khujjanāga	22.32	36.18	2 – –	2 – –	724-726	186-188 A.C.
51.	Kuñcanāga	22.33	36.19	1 – –	1 – –	726-727	188 A.C.
52.	Sirināga I	22.36	36.23	19 – –	19 – –	727-746	189-209 A.C.
53.	Vohārikatissa	22.45	36.27	22 – –	22 – –	746-768	209-231 A.C.
54.	Abhayanāga	22.38	36.51	22 – –	8 – –	768-776	231-240 A.C.
55.	Sirināga II.	22.46	36.54	2 – –	2 – –	776-778	240-242 A.C.
56.	Vijayakumāra	22.51	36.57	1 – –	1 – –	778-779	242 A.C.
57.	Saṃghatissa	22.52	36.64	4 – –	4 – –	779-783	243-247 A.C.
58.	Saṃghabodhi	22.53	36.73	2 – –	2 – –	783-785	247-249 A.C.
59.	Goṭhakābhaya	22.60	36.98	13 – –	13 – –	785-798	249-263 A.C.
60.	Jeṭṭhātissa	22.65	36.132	10 – –	10 – –	798-808	263 - 273 A.C.
61.	Mahāsena	22.66	37.1	27 – –	27 – –	808-835	273 - 301 A.C.